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EARLY CANADIAN COSTUME*

IN the consideration of this subject, it is necessary, first of all, to indicate what is meant by Canadian costume. Obviously the costume of any country or region must be related to and influenced by that of other countries and regions, but even when the relation is close there may be distinctive elements which give it an individual character. The dress of the upper classes in Europe during the eighteenth century, for example, showed marked similarities in the various parts of the continent, but in Venice it had distinctive characteristics which were unique. The tricorn worn over the black hooded cloak, long familiar to devotees of *The Gondoliers*, signifies only Venice, never London or Paris.

It is in this sense that we can speak of a Canadian costume. The dress of the early Canadian settlers was a direct importation from Europe, which developed marked and interesting deviations in the New World environment. Changes were soon created by the harsh climate, the absence of manufactured goods, the proximity of the Indian tribes; and, as a result of such influences, distinctive traits made their appearance. The accounts of travellers and explorers abound in the most careful descriptions of Canadian dress as being of particular interest to the European or English reader because of its novelty. Thus we may assume that Canadian costume had sufficiently well-marked characteristics to be worthy of separate study.

In considering early Canadian costume, we can distinguish five clearly-marked divisions. There is, first of all, the whole range of aboriginal costume, Indian and Eskimo, which is a tremendous subject in itself. The second division is concerned with the inter-relation between European and Indian dress, since, from their earliest contact, each was affected radically by the other. A third division concerns the dress of the French Canadian, before and after the conquest, its relation to France and England and the extent to which it is a product of Canada; also

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the impact made by the English conquest upon Canadian social life, as revealed in dress. The fourth and fifth divisions are those of the military uniform, and the habits of the religious orders.

The source material for aboriginal costume is very wide in scope, all the more so because Indian costume varies considerably in the different areas of Canada. Only the briefest outline of the subject can be given in a paper of this length. Every explorer had some comment to make about the dress of the natives in the new, mysterious country, with its vast, unmapped wastes of river, lake, and forest. Cartier, in speaking of the Indians, remarks:

There are people in the said land who are well enough of body, but they are wild and savage folks. They have their hair tied upon their heads in the fashion of a fistful of hay trussed up, and a nail or some other thing passed through it, and therein they stick some feathers of birds. They clothe themselves with skins of beasts, both men and women, but the women are closer and tighter in their said skins, and girded about the body. They paint themselves with certain tawny colours.¹

Champlain, with his scientifically trained, geographer's mind, is much more exact in his observations. His writings abound in descriptions of Indian dress. He pictures the costume of the Huron women:

They are not ashamed to show their body, that is, from the waist up and from mid-thigh down, always keeping the rest covered, and they are laden with quantities of wampum, both necklaces and chains, which they allow to hang in front of their robes and attached to their belts, and also with bracelets and ear-rings. They have their hair well combed, dyed and oiled, and thus they go to the dances with a tuft of their hair behind tied up with eel-skin which they arrange to serve as a band, or sometimes they fasten to it plates a foot square covered with the same wampum, which hang behind. In this manner, gaily dressed and adorned, they like to show themselves at dances.²

Champlain's description of the Huron dress is made doubly valuable by the addition of drawings, which are, as far as I have discovered, the first authentic visual representations of the dress of the Canadian Indian.³ Illustrations in the works of the early explorers are extremely unreliable. They are merely the illustrator's idea of what an Indian should resemble and are always very far from reality. This is true of all illustrations representing foreign peoples or characters from the past, made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Fêtes were common at

¹J. P. Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier, Sieur de Limoilou; his Voyages to the St. Lawrence; a Bibliography and Facsimile of the Manuscript of 1534 with Annotations, etc.* (New York, 1906), 86.

²Samuel de Champlain, *Works* (Champlain Society Publication, n.s., 7 vols., Toronto, 1922-36), III, 134-5.

³*Ibid.*, VI, opp. 135.

the court of Louis XIV, in which the courtiers portrayed such exotic characters as Turks or heroes of antiquity. The illustrations of these pageants show clearly that Frenchmen of that century had no conception of what a Turk or ancient Greek actually wore. The result is a strange conglomeration of plumes, head dresses, and ornaments, having only the vaguest connection with the country or period which they are intended to represent. Even Champlain's illustrations are not above reproach. The drawing of a Huron woman in gala dress, corresponding minutely with the verbal description quoted above, has the well-upholstered form and somewhat bovine expression esteemed the height of beauty at the court of Louis XIII. Others of his illustrations are much more true to the Indian features.

An important, if not the most outstanding, source for detail on the dress of the Indians of eastern Canada is found in the *Jesuit Relations*,⁴ that amazing series of documents which covers the whole social, political, and religious development of New France. The most painstaking descriptions are given of Indian clothing and its manufacture; ornaments such as wampum; face painting; tattooing; hair dressing; and a host of other details. Interest in the Indian was intense among the devout in France, which may be one reason for the space devoted to the description of Indian dress. Many of the Jesuits who came to the New World were men of great learning and culture, whose minds were by nature keenly responsive to their new environment. Paul Le Jeune, for example, writing of the Montagnais in the year 1634, describes in almost photographic detail the dress typical of the eastern Indian, which varies considerably from that worn by the western and Pacific Coast tribes, especially in ornamentation.⁵

As the years passed, the lure of furs drew the white men up the great rivers and lakes, through the mighty forests to the vast plains of the interior. The fur traders in their lonely posts lived on intimate terms with their Indian neighbours, exploring the unmapped territory in their company. Men such as Samuel Hearne, David Thompson, Alexander Mackenzie, and many others recorded the appearance of the tribes they met in their explorations, which extended finally to the Arctic and through the mountains to the Pacific. The costume of the Plains' tribes, like that of the Indians of eastern Canada, was based entirely upon skins, but where the Indian of the east decorated his clothing

⁴R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (74 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901).

⁵*Ibid.*, VII, 13-19.

with dyed moose hair, the Indian of the Plains used porcupine quill. The clothing of the eastern Indian was of deerskin; the Plains' Indian wore antelope or elk. The robes of the eastern Indian were of squirrel or beaver, those of the Plains' Indian of bison skin. The Plains' Indian war chiefs wore the magnificent head-dress of feathers, trailing almost to the ground, which has, quite wrongly, become associated with any stock picture of a North American Indian. This was a mark of great distinction, reserved only for distinguished warriors and not worn beyond the Plains.

Three men, in particular, have made valuable contributions to the source material for the costume of the Plains' Indian tribes. Two of them, Paul Kane and George Catlin, were artists, and the third, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, a scientist of note. The series of paintings produced by Paul Kane, together with his book, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America*,⁶ provide detailed, authentic information on the magnificent costume of the Plains' Indians; their painted robes of buffalo hide; their warriors' head-dresses of trailing plumes, or buffalo horns; their antelope shirts and leggings ornamented with dyed porcupine quills. Many of Kane's Indian portraits have been preserved. One important collection, housed in the Royal Ontario Museum, portrays the haughty western chiefs in all their savage splendour. Kane also realized the significance of the actual specimen. He brought back from the Indian country a splendid collection of head-dresses, costumes, and other objects for his patron, the Honourable George W. Allan. Much of this collection, unfortunately, has been lost, borrowed to add a note of colour to the gay masquerades of early Toronto. What remains has found its way into the Royal Ontario Museum.

Although Catlin was an American, his work is important for the history of Canadian Indian costume. The wandering tribes of the great plains knew no boundary between north and south. Blackfoot, Crow, Assiniboine, moved back and forth across the line dividing Canada from the United States. Between 1829 and 1838, Catlin lived among the Plains' tribes, painting some six hundred portraits of distinguished Indians, men and women, scenes of native life, and landscapes. The descriptions in his book, *North American Indians*,⁷ are exhaustive in their detail. Catlin had a passionate interest in every aspect of Indian dress—accessories such as the shield, the bow and arrow, and the medicine

⁶Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* (London, 1859).

⁷George Catlin, *North American Indians* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1926).

bag; modes of dressing the skins; the manufacture of the head-dresses of buffalo horns and ermine skins; the necklaces of the claws of the grizzly bear—to mention only a few items in the wealth of detail he provides. His description of a Crow chief on horseback⁸ is only one example of Catlin's ability in depicting the grandeur of a Plains' Indian at the time when he was undisputed master of the western prairie. Catlin's collection of paintings and costume is now housed in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, visited North America in 1831, to make a scientific survey of the western tribes and their territory.⁹ With him came a young Swiss artist, Charles Bodmer, whom he had engaged to paint landscapes and portraits of the aborigines. The result is an outstanding series of plates, an "unexcelled gallery of Indian types and costumes." The plates, engraved by Ackermann of London, are large enough to give magnificent detail, while the scientist prince adds descriptions of Teutonic thoroughness in the text.

The Indians of the Pacific Coast are a fascinating study in themselves. Their costume, unlike that of the other tribes of Canada, was not based entirely on skins. In a culture in which wood played an important part, clothing of woven bark made its appearance. Cook, in his *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*,¹⁰ mentions the cloak of cedar bark (which he calls "flaxen") ornamented with fur; the short cape and conical hat woven of cedar bark; the princely robes of sea-otter; the blankets woven from the wool of the mountain goat. He also comments upon the distinctive ornamentation, characteristic of the high artistic development of the Pacific Coast tribes. Cook's *Voyage* contains illustrations of several good examples of this type of costume. John Meares's *Voyages to the North West Coast of America*¹¹ has a few splendid plates, one of which is an excellent depiction of the sea-otter robe, as worn by a Nootka chief.¹²

The Eskimo dress, which is peculiarly the product of a particular environment, cannot be touched on here, although it is worth noting that, to the present day, the white man has found no better protection against the Arctic cold than the clothing evolved by the Eskimo. In closing this comment on Indian dress, mention should be made of the outstanding exhibits of Indian

⁸*Ibid.*, I, 216.

⁹Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, *Travels in the Interior of North America* (2 vols., London, 1843-4).

¹⁰James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780* (3 vols., London, 1785). Separate volume of plates, by J. Webber.

¹¹John Meares, *Voyages to the North West Coast of America* (London, 1790).

¹²*Ibid.*, opp. 109.

and Eskimo costume and culture in the National Museum at Ottawa and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. A debt must also be acknowledged to the authority on the subject, *The Indians of Canada*, by Diamond Jenness.¹³

From the earliest contact between the European and the Indian, the dress of each was altered radically. This interrelation of the two types of costume forms the second field for investigation. The Indian eagerly adopted manufactured wool and cotton, which freed him from the laborious necessity of using skins; while the white man, in his turn, borrowed from the Indian the snow-shoe, the moccasin, the skin shirt and leggings which could not be torn easily on the long journeys through the dense northern forests. The early writers are quick to note these borrowings. Paul Le Jeune, writing from Quebec in 1632, says of the Indians: "Now that they trade with the French for capes, blankets, cloths, and shirts, there are many who use them; but their shirts are as white and as greasy as dish cloths, for they never wash them."¹⁴ In another document, written around 1656, the same interchange is described:

You will see Savages dressed in French attire, with worsted stockings and a cloak, but without any breeches; while before and behind are seen two large shirt-flaps hanging down below the cloak . . . the Savages wear them usually over their dress, to shield it from snow and rain, which are very readily shed by linen when it is greasy, as their shirts are, for they do not know what it is to wash them.¹⁵

The Jesuit, Claude Chauchetière, writing from the vicinity of Montreal in the year 1681, describes the dress of an Iroquois woman living near the settlement.¹⁶ The same Claude Chauchetière painted a portrait of the Mohawk saint, Catherine Tegakwitha, wearing the actual dress referred to above.¹⁷ Blanket and outer tunic are of cloth manufactured in Europe; the leggings may be either strips of blanket or made entirely of skin, while the shoes alone appear to be the Indian moccasin. The articles of dress which would once have been of skin are now made of cloth, although the original design is not destroyed entirely in the new medium.

Articles of clothing were a staple of the trade with the Indians. The accounts of the fur trade list with monotonous regularity so many pounds of beads, preferably blue; so many weight of blankets; so much vermilion for body decoration; so many of the

¹³Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Canada, Geological Survey, National Museum, Museum Bulletin no. 65, Anthropological series, no. 15, Ottawa, 1932).

¹⁴Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations*, V, 25.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, XLIV, 293-5.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, LXII, 187.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, LXII, opp. 176.

little ornaments, "trade silver" of the wilderness. This was the type of merchandise loading the bark canoes which left Montreal, the stronghold of the fur trade, for the annual expedition to the interior. Farther and farther inland went the yearly flotillas of canoes, up the great St. Lawrence, north along the Ottawa, across the portages and rivers to the lakes, on towards Michilimackinac and the posts of the far west. Year after year the canoes returned to Montreal, to the McTavishes, the Frobishers, the McGillivrays, laden with the precious furs of the north. The Indians eagerly paid the price in furs for the tawdry trinkets brought them by the traders. Their old arts died. The moose-hair ornaments of the eastern Indians and the porcupine-quill decorations of the Plains' tribes disappeared. Beads were easier to use. A silver medal from the Great White Father was a mark of higher distinction than the bear-claw necklace of a chief. A gaudy blanket was as good a covering as the painted buffalo robe, hazardously won in hunt against the roving herds of bison, moving in clouds of dust across the stretches of the plains. On the west Pacific Coast the greedy traders drove the sea-otter from the ocean. There was nothing for the Indian but to adopt, as well as he could, the dress and habits of his conquerors.

Although the European forced his type of dress upon the Indian, he, in his turn, was compelled to borrow from the savage. In the deep snows of winter, the European, if he wished to travel, must use the snow-shoe evolved by the Indians. To walk comfortably on snow-shoes, it was necessary to add the moccasin. Some Frenchmen, the *coureurs de bois*, for example, adopted the Indian dress practically in its entirety. These men were the independent traders of the early colony, disappearing for months at a time into the silent forests, living exactly in the manner of the Indians. At intervals they would return to Montreal with a store of furs. For a few short weeks they would revel about the settlements in extravagant finery until their money had completely disappeared. Then they would sell their embroidery, lace, and fine clothes to return to the skin leggings and moccasins of the Indians.

As the years passed and the canoe brigades were more and more highly organized, the *voyageurs* became a well-defined type. Washington Irving's *Astoria*,¹⁸ that epic of the fur trade, describes their costume: "The dress of these people is generally half-civilized, half savage. They wear a capot or surcoat, made of a blanket, a striped cotton shirt, cloth trousers, or leathern leggings, moccasins of deer-skin, and a belt of variegated worsted, from which are suspended the knife, tobacco-pouch, and other implements."¹⁹

¹⁸Washington Irving, *Astoria* (Works, VIII, London, 1886).

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 23.

This was the working outfit of the *voyageur*, as he pushed up the rivers, past the rapids, across the lakes to the forts of the north-west, dipping his paddle to the tune of the ancient French *chansons* he loved. The *voyageur* was fond of splendour. At Michilimackinac, for example, a great cross-roads of the fur trade, he could be seen swaggering about, his hat loaded down with ostrich plumes, sporting an arrowhead sash of vivid reds and yellows, tied about the waist of his long-skirted coat. Heriot, in his *Travels in the Canadas*,²⁰ has produced several illustrations of this gala costume. Washington Irving describes how the promise of a few plumes brought new recruits for the Astor expedition to the west.

A French Canadian is too vain and mercurial a being to withstand the finery and ostentation of the feather. Numbers immediately pressed into the service. One must have an ostrich plume; another, a white feather with a red end; a third, a bunch of cocks tails. Thus all paraded about in vainglorious style, more delighted with the feathers in their hats than with the money in their pockets; and considering themselves fully equal to the boastful "men of the north."²¹

With the decline of the fur trade, the colourful figure of the *voyageur* vanished from the Canadian lakes and rivers. Irving proclaimed his epitaph: "The Canadian voyageurs will become a forgotten race, or remembered, like their associates, the Indians, among the poetical images of past times, and as themes for local and romantic associations."²²

The third division of Canadian costume is concerned with the dress of the French and English in Canada. The early French settlers were entirely dependent upon France for all their imports. The clothing of the upper classes was brought out from France, while the habitants made their own rough clothes from homespun, adding many details borrowed directly from the Indians. Talon, the famous Intendant, had plans, unfortunately never realized, to make New France economically self-sufficient. To quote the *Jesuit Relations* for the years 1667 and 1668: "Moreover since a country cannot be built up entirely without the help of Manufactures, we already see that of shoes and hats begun, and those of linen and leather planned; and it is expected that the steady increase in sheep will produce sufficient wool to introduce that of woollen goods."²³

When Peter Kalm paid his famous visit to North America, almost a hundred years later, he found that these dreams of the

²⁰Public Archives of Canada, Print Division, Coloured Plates to accompany George Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas*.

²¹Irving, *Astoria*, 80-1.

²²*Ibid.*, 25.

²³Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations*, LI, 173.

great Intendant had never materialized. Kalm reports: "Every countryman commonly keeps a few sheep which supply him with as much wool as he needs to clothe himself with. The better sort of clothes are brought from France. The sheep degenerate here after they are imported from France, their wool becoming coarser, and their progeny is still poorer. The want of food in winter is said to cause this degeneration."²⁴

Kalm has much to say about the dress of the French Canadians, describing the habitants as follows:

All the women in the country, without exception, wear caps of some kind or other. Their jackets are short and so are their skirts, which scarcely reach down to the middle of their legs. Their shoes are often like those of the Finnish women, but are sometimes provided with heels. They have a silver cross hanging down on the breast When they go out of doors they wear long cloaks, which cover all their other clothes and are either grey, brown or blue.²⁵

Kalm was quick to see the Indian influence on the dress of the habitant.

The French in Canada in many respects follow the customs of the Indians, with whom they have constant relations. They use the . . . shoes, garters and girdles of the Indians . . . they wrap a square piece of cloth round their feet, instead of stockings, and have adopted many other Indian fashions.²⁶

The dress of the habitant remained practically unchanged after the English conquest. John Lambert, who visited Canada in 1806, under the auspices of the British Board of Trade, gives a careful description of the habitant costume, very similar to that of Kalm, but more detailed and exact.²⁷ Lambert's work has the additional value of including charming, hand-coloured plates, showing, among other costumes, the dress of the French-Canadian habitant of the period.²⁸ Another invaluable source of information on habitant dress is to be found in the paintings of Cornelius Krieghoff. His vivid, colourful figures against clear backgrounds of blue Canadian sky, snowy Quebec landscapes, or flaming autumn trees are authentic to the smallest detail. Many of his paintings contain only one figure, minutely treated, and true in every aspect. Taken as a whole, his work provides a complete survey of habitant life and culture.

Peter Kalm did not find the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal as much to his taste as the French-Canadian habitant. He is, in fact, so hard upon Canadian women that there is more than

²⁴Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America* (2 vols., New York, 1937), II, 477.

²⁵*Ibid.*, II, 417.

²⁶*Ibid.*, II, 511.

²⁷John Lambert, *Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808* (2 vols., London, 1816), I, 158-60.

²⁸*Ibid.*, I, opp. 158, 160.

a faint suspicion that he may have been snubbed severely by a quick French tongue. Or perhaps, as a serious scientist, he was not interested in feminine finery. He says of the ladies of Montreal:

The women in general are handsome here. . . . They dress up very fine on Sundays; about the same as our Swedish women, and though on the other days they do not take much pains with other parts of their dress, yet they are very fond of adorning their heads. Their hair is always curled, powdered and ornamented with glittering bodkins and aigrettes. Every day but Sunday they wear a neat little jacket, and a short skirt which hardly reaches halfway down the leg, and sometimes not that far. And in this particular they seem to imitate the Indian women. The heels of their shoes are high and very narrow, and it is surprising how they can walk on them.²⁹

The dress of the men, according to Kalm, followed that of France.

The gentlemen generally wear their own hair, but some have wigs, and there were a few so distinguished that they had a queue. People of rank are accustomed to wear lace-trimmed clothes and all the crown officers carry swords. All the gentlemen, even those of rank, the governor-general excepted, when they go into town on a day that looks like rain, carry their cloaks on their left arm.³⁰

Kalm goes on to note a fact which almost all the travellers to Canada have also mentioned, namely the extravagant love of finery in New France.

The Frenchmen, who consider things in their true light, complain very much that a great number of the ladies in Canada have gotten into the pernicious custom of taking too much care of their dress, and squandering all their fortune and more upon it, instead of sparing something for future times.

They are no less attentive to having the newest fashion; the best and most expensive dresses are discarded and cut to pieces; and they smile inwardly when their sisters are not dressed according to their fancy. But what they get as new fashions are often old and discarded in France by the time they are adopted in Canada, for the ships come but once every year from abroad, and the people in Canada consider that as the new fashion for the whole year which the people on board brought with them or which they imposed upon them as new.³¹

Kalm reports that "there are as yet no manufactures established in Canada, probably because France will not lose the advantage of selling off its own goods here. However, both the inhabitants of Canada and the Indians are very badly off for want of them in times of war."³² This was only too true a picture of Canada during the French régime. France was interested solely in what the colony could produce in the way of wealth for the mother country, principally through the trade in furs. When New France fell to England, it had no economic security of its own.

²⁹Kalm, *Travels in North America*, II, 402-3.

³⁰*Ibid.*, II, 446-7.

³¹*Ibid.*, II, 525.

³²*Ibid.*, II, 536.

Lambert made a thorough economic and social survey of Canada under British rule in the year 1806. He records the dependence of the colony on English manufactured goods and their extravagant prices. "A person," he remarks, "must pay at least 70 or 100 per cent. upon the London price, for every article of wearing apparel, furniture, &c."³³ Lambert has some specific comments to make on the dress of the Canadians, English as well as French. He pays particular attention to the dress of the townspeople, especially the clothing worn during the winter:

At this season of the year, the men wrap themselves up in thick Bath great coats, with several large capes that cover their shoulders, above which is a collar of fur. They fasten their coats round the waist with a sash ornamented with beads. A fur cap fashioned in the helmet style, and list shoes or Shetland hose outside their boots, complete the remainder of their winter's dress. . . .

The ladies wear fur caps, muffs and tippets, velvet or cloth pelisses or great coats; with list shoes or Shetland hose, the same as the gentlemen.

Lambert has some interesting observations on fashion in general:

The dress of the Canadian ladies at the present day is in every respect similar to the English fashions which are exported annually to Canada. They have a better opportunity now of receiving them earlier than under the French government, as ships arrive every month as long as the navigation is open. Little novelty or variety is to be found in the dress of the men, who for the most part are very careless of that ornament to the person; and even many of those who arrive from Europe get into the same negligent and slovenly habits, after residing a year or two in the colony. The winter is particularly favourable to the wearing of indifferent clothes; for except in the house, the great coat is the only garment that is visible.

The mutations of fashion among the ladies of the colony are not so frequent as in the old country. Those that are adopted as new, are generally a twelvemonth old in England, and often continue in vogue for several seasons after their arrival. The country people are very little influenced by fashion; for with few exceptions they wear the same dress as was in existence a century ago. Some of their children are however beginning to dress in a more modern style; but the change proceeds slowly, and is confined chiefly to those who have intercourse with the towns.³⁴

As Canada grew in population through the years, transportation and communications improved. The old, distinctive touches in dress began to disappear. In remote, rural districts, such as some sections of Quebec, or the old Acadian settlements of the Maritime Provinces, traces of the original costume still survived. In the early days of Upper Canada and the west, pioneer women were forced to evolve a simple dress from the materials at hand, but progress in manufacture was so rapid that no district remained isolated long enough to produce a costume of

³³Lambert, *Travels in Canada and the United States of North America*, I, 75.

³⁴*Ibid.*, I, 305-8.

its own. Women's magazines, English and American, were received and read in ever increasing numbers. By 1867, the date of Confederation, it is fairly safe to say that, at least in English-speaking Canada, dress had few, if any, features to distinguish it from that worn in England or the United States.

The history of the military uniform is another interesting phase of any study of Canadian costume. In the Print Division of the Public Archives at Ottawa, there is a series of water-colour drawings, depicting the uniforms of the French regiments which served in New France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁵ It is most enlightening to compare the plate of the *Carignan-Salières* with Bacqueville de la Potherie's illustration of a *Canadian on Snowshoes, Going to War*.³⁶ The French Canadian is stripped of plumes and ribbons. He wears moccasins and around his waist is the *ceinture fléchée*, in which is stuck a tomahawk. His inevitable tobacco pouch hangs from the same belt, and his short, stubby pipe is in his mouth, which would doubtless shock an officer newly out from France. Yet dressed in this fashion, he was much more able to defend his settlements against Indian attack, than the European soldier, encumbered by equipment unsuited for warfare in the northern forests.

The Indians were quick to enter the military service of the French and English. Their chiefs were given certain military rank and the symbols which would indicate such authority to their people. Romney's celebrated portrait of the Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, is a splendid example of this type of costume. Brant wears the Indian head dress; a white linen shirt of conventional English cut, but with the heavy silver bracelet worn just above the elbow, typical of many Indian portraits; around his neck hangs the gorget of a British officer, above crossed shoulder straps of black leather; over his left shoulder and under his right arm is wrapped his blanket of dark green banded with red; red blanket leggings are visible at the edge of the picture; and in his hand he carries a tomahawk. Men such as this fought the battles of the wilderness—Rogers's and Butler's Rangers in their buckskins borrowed from the Indians; Brant and his Mohawks; Tecumseh, Brock's faithful ally; and an unnamed host of others. Without their aid, the white and gold uniforms of France, and later the red-coated regulars of England, would have been powerless to win and hold the continent of North America.

³⁵Public Archives of Canada, Print Division, "Troupes françaises venues en Canada au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles"; water-colour drawings by Henri Beau; type-written notes.

³⁶C. C. Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (4 vols., Paris, 1753), I, opp. 51.

Under the British régime, there still remained the three types of soldier: the regular regiments of the British army, temporarily garrisoned in Canada; their Indian allies; and the Canadian militia. The Print Division of the Archives also possesses a water-colour series of the uniforms worn by the British regiments in Canada.³⁷ With any of these plates it is interesting to contrast the illustrations in that charming gallery of Canadian types, *The Quebec Volunteers of 1839*.³⁸ The Volunteers are a motley collection—an officer of the "Quebec Loyal Artificers"³⁹ wears a white blanket coat, with a black stripe an inch or so above the hem. Around his waist is the inevitable red sash, a vivid contrast to the green cuffs, epaulettes and high collar which suggest the European uniform, as do the trousers of bright blue with a red stripe running up the outside of the leg and the shoulder strap of black leather. This officer's costume is completed by gaily decorated moccasins and a fur shako with a definitely Canadian touch in the tuque-like tassel hanging down the right side. As a final height of elegance he wears white gloves, although other plates in the same volume seem to favour yellow mittens.

Canada, too, left a mark upon the British uniform. In one of the cases in the Public Archives, there is a magnificent example of the *ceinture fléchée*, the arrowhead sash, once the property of General Brock. It is a proud thought for a Canadian to remember that one man who helped to preserve Canada as a nation wore, on the scarlet uniform of England, a sash woven by patient fingers in L'Assomption or L'Achigan.

Any survey of Canadian costume would be incomplete without some reference to the religious orders. The Jesuits, the Recollets, the Ursulines, heroic names in the history of New France, brought to the Indians what little benefit they absorbed from the culture of their conquerors. No hardship was too great for the missionaries to endure, and the habits which they wore were seen as far as the western plains. Travellers like Kalm, Lambert, Weld, describe their dress as they saw it in the towns and country-side of Quebec. The Print Division of the Archives again possesses a series of water-colour drawings illustrating the habits of all religious orders associated with the history of Canada.⁴⁰

³⁷Public Archives of Canada, Print Division, "British Regiments that served in Canada, 1757-1870"; water-colour drawings.

³⁸*The Quebec Volunteers* (Quebec, 1839).

³⁹*Ibid.*, plate iv.

⁴⁰Public Archives of Canada, Print Division, "Ordres religieux au Canada"; water-colour drawings by Henri Beau.

Although they are European in origin, there are a few interesting variations. A splendid example is the dress of the seminary students in the city of Quebec, pictured in one of Lambert's plates.⁴¹ It was introduced into Canada by the great Bishop Laval himself, and although unmistakably modelled on a French habit of the period, the distinctive *ceinture fléchée* again appears. Although these habits were not a product of the New World, the influence of the religious orders on Canada, and in particular on Quebec, gives us the right to claim their costume as our own.

It is hoped that this brief outline has served to demonstrate that there is a field for research in Canadian costume. The substance exists, hidden in historical source material; visible in old prints and paintings; speaking through diaries, the records of the fur trade, and the innumerable personal accounts of life in early Canada. Newspapers, such as the *Quebec Gazette*, to mention only one example, provide invaluable details in their advertisements listing products imported from abroad by local merchants. There is a wealth of information in the Archives at Ottawa; in special collections, such as the Coverdale collection at the Manoir Richelieu; the J. C. Webster collection in the New Brunswick Museum; the John Ross Robertson collection in the Toronto Public Library. Valuable work has already been done—the pamphlet of M. Marius Barbeau on the *ceinture fléchée*⁴²; the articles of such scholars as M. Massicotte and Pierre-Georges Roy; the splendid drawings and water-colours of Dr. C. W. Jefferys. The problem is to organize and to co-ordinate this abundance of material into some coherent, usable form, with illustrations to supplement the text. It is unnecessary to stress the importance of careful and authentic plates. Work of this nature would be undoubtedly a contribution of lasting value to Canadian culture.

ELIZABETH W. LOOSLEY

Toronto Public Libraries.

⁴¹Lambert, *Travels in Canada and the United States of North America*, I, opp. 60.

⁴²Marius Barbeau, *Assomption Sash* (Canada, Geological Survey, National Museum, Museum Bulletin, Anthropological Series no. 24, Ottawa, 1939).

JOHN STRACHAN'S CONNEXION WITH EARLY PROPOSALS FOR CONFEDERATION

EVEN before 1791 a union of the British North American colonies had been suggested; and after that date, in order to overcome the evils which had arisen from the separation of Upper and Lower Canada, proposals continued to be made for some form of union, either of the two Canadas or of all the British colonies.¹ One of the advocates of a union of all the provinces was the Reverend John Strachan, whose proposal, put forward by him in the early eighteen-twenties, at a time when the union of the Canadas was being pressed by the British government, and again during Lord Durham's régime, contains some striking passages, and reveals Strachan, though in some respects a stubborn supporter of the old colonial system, as one who looked forward to the emergence of all British North America into "one territory or Kingdom," exalted to "a nation acting in Unity & under the Protection of the British Empire."

As early as 1815 Strachan had suggested that the two Canadas should perhaps be re-united; in his "Remarks" which he sent, or intended to send, to Sir George Murray,² he noted that the separation had been the cause of many difficulties: commercial collisions between the colonies, the predominance of the French in the lower province, and, more important, perhaps, in his view, the impossibility of pursuing any uniform schemes with regard to religion and education. But even at that time the plan of a larger union had considerable support. "Some of the most enlightened men in both the Canadas and I believe in the other Provinces," Strachan wrote in 1824, "have for many years considered a General Union of the British territories in North America a measure of the greatest importance and not only highly expedient but likely to produce the most beneficial results both to the Colonies and the parent State."³ And by this year, at which time he was in London, he had become firmly convinced that the larger union was more desirable than the smaller:

every argument that can be adduced in favour of the partial applies with much more force to the General Union and . . . the probability of its success is much

¹The best summary of these early proposals is in R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation* (Toronto, 1924), 3-9. Here the activities of Strachan are briefly noted in the sentence: "Active in this work [of bringing forward proposals for a union of all the colonies] were Chief Justice Sewell, the Reverend Doctor John Strachan, and John Beverley Robinson."

²Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter-book, 1812-34, 128.

³Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, May 25, 1824.

better founded. Indeed many Persons of great intelligence are apprehensive that the advantages expected from Uniting the Legislatures of the Canadas will not be realized and their dislike to the measure arises not from its principle which is certainly good nor from any personal or selfish motives but from the fear that the collision of parties will be so great and so nearly balanced as to paralise [*sic*] every effort to promote the prosperity of the Provinces.

In 1822-3 the Attorney-General of Upper Canada, John Beverley Robinson, one of Strachan's ex-pupils and his "adopted son," with whom he was on most intimate terms, was in England. There he argued against the proposed union of the Canadas, suggesting instead the "uniting all the North-American Colonies." At the same time Strachan, at home in York, was considering Jonathan Sewell's plan of a general union, and, he says, had determined to state his opinion at some length,⁴ but, after Robinson had shown him the suggestions he had made at the Colonial Office, he concluded that a statement from him was unnecessary, for what Robinson had written "appeared superior to any thing that I could write upon the subject." On Strachan's arrival in England at the end of March, 1824, however, he found that the Government, "when intelligence was received of the absurd proceedings of the Legislature of Lower Canada," was reviving the plan to unite the Canadas, and he immediately took steps to register his objections. At the Colonial Office he "gave in a paper demonstrating as I thought its impolicy"⁵ and, since he had been instructed by Maitland to give an account of the state of the colony, and so remained in close touch with the Colonial Office officials, he was enabled to reiterate his arguments. There was, he wrote, "no end to the references which they have from day to day made."⁶ At the request of William Horton, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, he held conferences on the subject of the proposed Union Bill with James Stuart (another of his ex-pupils), the Attorney-General of Lower Canada, who was in London advocating the union, but they were unable to come to complete agreement on alterations "which would make the measure work well." Apparently while the conversations with Stuart were being held, a Major Wilford had sent in a plan for a union of all the provinces; this was transmitted on May 18

⁴Strachan expressed his opinion towards the end of 1822: "Every day convinces me more and more that in order to produce lasting tranquillity between the Provinces we must go much further than the proposed Union—such a measure should be adopted as would without any positive enactment sink the French name their language and narrow ideas of Commerce" (Strachan Papers, J. Strachan to Simon McGillivray, Nov. 1, 1822).

⁵Strachan Letter-book, 1827-41, 45.

⁶A. N. Bethune, *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan* (Toronto, 1870), 97.

by Horton to Strachan with a request for his comments. The result was Strachan's paper of May 25: "Observations on the Policy of a General Union of all the British Provinces of North America."⁷ Four days later Strachan and Stuart concluded their discussions, and the former began to prepare a paper embodying his "reasons for supporting certain clauses, and rejecting others"; these arguments, contained in a document of nearly ten thousand words,⁸ he submitted on June 5. He later referred to these arguments as "a separte [*sic*] report on the clauses of the bill not touching the principle of which I disapproved but suggesting such alterations as would give it a fair trial." In his own opinion this report was largely responsible for the abandonment of the measure: it had, he believed, "a salutary effect in stopping the project as the modifications were many and important and some of them owing to the little knowledge possessed by Members of the House of Commons at that time respecting the Canadas such as would not have passed tho' essential to the working of the measure even for four years."⁹

It may seem singular that Strachan should thus oppose the plan which the commercial classes of the Canadas, with the leading members of which he was on very friendly terms, considered so advantageous to themselves. Professor Creighton has rather unkindly insinuated that the local oligarchy at York selfishly argued against union through fear of losing the advantages they enjoyed through living in a provincial capital.¹⁰ This suggested reason may well have had some basis in fact, but Strachan produced solid arguments against the proposed Union Bill. Chiefly he feared the domination in the united legislature of the "Notaries and Demagogues" of Lower Canada who controlled the Assembly in that province and who continued "in the same state from year to year opposing with the most inflexible obstinacy all modern improvements in the most common arts and employments and standing entrenched behind a difference of manners language

⁷Strachan Papers, May 25, 1824. This, some four thousand words in length, is evidently a draft of the manuscript sent to Horton, and appears without substantial change in *General Union of All the British Provinces of North America* (London, 1824). This *General Union*, containing, in addition to a few others, papers by Robinson and Sewell, James Stuart, and Strachan, is apparently rare. A copy is in the library of the University of Toronto, and, since this paper was written, a copy has been acquired by the Toronto Public Reference Library. Strachan's paper is calendared in the *Report of the Public Archives of Canada, 1898*, "State Papers, Upper Canada," 210.

⁸Toronto Public Reference Library, Manuscript Collection, [John Strachan], Document to the [Colonial Office], June 5, 1824.

⁹Strachan Letter-book, 1827-41, 45.

¹⁰D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto, 1937), 217.

& condition lest the Canadian or French character should be lost," whose aim it therefore was not "to assimilate the country in its Institutions to the parent State nor to promote British Settlements nor to improve agriculture and commerce but to counteract as far as possible these beneficial purposes and to extend and perpetuate the French Language Laws and Roman Catholic Institutions with the National feelings connected with them." Also at this time Strachan was much alarmed by the growing number of Roman Catholic bishops and priests in the colonies, officials of a Church "not only established to all intents and purposes in Lower Canada but also in Upper Canada." It therefore seemed to him that the passage of the Bill, unless drastically amended, would "virtually place the Church of England in the Canadas under the control of a Catholic Legislature so that assailed by the Catholics on the one hand and by the Sectaries on the other the rapid progress which she is now making . . . will be quickly arrested and the most Loyal part of the Population be discouraged and depressed."¹¹ Such apprehensions are sufficient to account for Strachan's opposition to the measure supported by many of his friends.

To return to his advocacy of a general union. It may be noted in the first place that his arguments are remarkable for their breadth of view. The plan of Robinson and Sewell suggested the erection of the five (or six, were Newfoundland included) colonies into "a Kingdom of 'British North America' which might be placed under the government of a viceroy, the executive government and local legislatures of the different provinces remaining as they are, except that the functions of the latter would be necessarily confined to objects purely local."¹² Their arguments, however, were based mainly on the effect of such a confederation on the peoples of the Canadas. Strachan's arguments had more of an imperial outlook, being largely based on the necessity of checking the growing power of the United States, of the effect of the expansionist programme of which he had had, it must be admitted, not a little personal experience. Therefore, he argued, in order to assist British, and curb American, naval power, the fisheries on the British American coasts must be encouraged. And by whom could support be more effectively given than by a strong union government?

Were there a Govt of sufficient weight & ability to take advantage of its territorial

¹¹Toronto Public Reference Library, Document to the [Colonial Office].

¹²*General Union of All the British Provinces*, 24.

situation & to call forth its resources the coast of Nova Scotia would be covered with Fishermen who could follow their business with much more convenience & advantage than the Americans and by selling cheaper first rival & then excel them in this traffic which would at length become a nursery of seamen capable of checking the Naval power of the United States on their own shores where it is most vulnerable and this without any expence to Govt.

His prophecies as to the results of a union upon the eastern colonies are similar to the arguments advanced before 1867: "The connexion between the North American Colonies and the West Indies would soon become more intimate—commercial interest would no longer be confined to one Province but would range through the whole—and Halifax St John & St Andrews instead of being almost unknown to the Canadas might soon become places of general Depot and the Ports at which Canadians might often embark for England instead of proceeding by New York." A motive which was not put forward in the sixties concerned religion: "Another advantage of great moment is the greater influence of the Established Church for by the Provincial Laws of New Brunswick & Nova Scotia this Church is established. Consequently the Church of England having a decided majority in three of the Provinces the paramount influence of the Roman Catholic religion in Lower Canada would be the less dangerous." And he concluded:

Seldom does it occur in the progress of Legislation that a measure pregnant with such grand and beneficial results is required and if the Great William Pitt considered the Constitution which he conferred upon the Canadas one of the glories of his life what Glory may be expected to redound to the Statesman who gives a free constitution to all the British North American Colonies and by consolidating them into one territory or Kingdom exalts them to a nation acting in Unity & under the Protection of the British Empire and thus preventing for ever the sad consequences that might arise from a rival Power getting possession of their shores.

Strachan's "Sketch of a Constitution" was not detailed. It is probably sufficient to state that he envisaged a central legislature of which the upper house was to be composed of members chosen by the Governor from the provincial legislative councils, and the lower house of "Members chosen by the Provincial Assemblies from among their own Number during the first week of the first Session of each Parliament and to continue four years or the same time as the inferior or Provincial Legislatures." This union parliament was of course to have power to legislate on all matters affecting the colonies as a whole, but Strachan made little attempt to define the spheres in which the union and provincial legislatures would have jurisdiction. One interesting

point is that he apparently looked forward to complete independence so far as the courts were concerned. "There shall," he suggested, "be a Court of Kings Bench to take cognizance of causes respecting the Breach of the Union laws . . . There shall likewise be a Court of appeal from the Provincial Courts whose decision shall be final."¹³ The dual language problem was to be solved by "a short enactment ordering the laws proceedings and records in the Legislature & in the Courts of Justice of Lower Canada to be after a given time in the English language & in no other . . . as the language of the Parent State would be the language of the Superior Legislature in its proceedings debates and laws every man wishing to attain eminence must study and acquire it." "Moreover," foretold Strachan, "the vast influx of Emigrants under such a General Govt would shortly of itself give sufficient weight in Lower Canada to the British Population." As to a general union making it probable that all the colonies might be joined "to the United States—as an ally or become part of that vast republic," Strachan would have trusted to the good sense of the people.

This General Govt like every other Govt would look to its own interest and to the continuance of its own Power both of which would be best promoted by continuing Faithful since Great Britain has much more in her power to give and consequently much more to take away and has hitherto been felt only by acts of kindness. For the General Govt to join the American States would be to sign its own destruction and to become incorporated would be still worse. The Inhabitants of British N America are quite sensible that they would gain nothing but lose much by attaching themselves to their neighbours in truth their vanity their interest forbid such a junction.

These plans for a general union were, as we have seen, opposed in London by James Stuart, the advocate of the merchants of Lower Canada, although even to him the question was not one of the expediency of a confederation, but of the time when confederation would be feasible. "Hereafter," he wrote, "some form of general government for managing the interests common to all the colonies . . . will, undoubtedly, become necessary: but in their present state, the establishment of such a government would be altogether premature."¹⁴

¹³Among Strachan's suggestions for amending the Union Bill (in his report of June 5) was the setting up of "a Supreme Court of Appeal for the United Provinces . . . The Judges in this Court would sit as the Lord Chancellor and the Lords sit upon Scotch Appeals and finally decide them without any reference except in extreme Cases to the King in Council." This qualification of the independence of the Court of Appeal does not appear in his plan for a General Union; possibly he considered it unnecessary, since, under the latter plan, the French would be placed in a definitely inferior position.

¹⁴A. G. Doughty and N. Story, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1819-28* (Ottawa, 1935), 246.

Faced with continued opposition from the French Canadians and in the House of Commons, the Government in London laid aside the proposal for any form of union, and Strachan, who had other irons in the fire, appears to have regarded the incident as closed.¹⁵ But fourteen years later, with the arrival in Canada of Lord Durham, bringing with him his plan for federation as perhaps the chief remedy for the ills with which the colonies were beset, Strachan began again actively to support the policy which he now hoped would at length be carried into effect. Even before Durham had set sail he was writing to the old fur traders, Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice in London; to the former he mentioned the proposed "new Division of the Province [of Lower Canada] so that in time The British may be in the majority," and added that it was with reluctance that he deprecated the union of the Canadas, "but it would do evil & destroy both Provinces. General Union better."¹⁶ Until September of 1838 it was Durham's hope to establish "a federative union of all the existing Colonies in North America," thus "raising upon the Northern frontier of the United States a rival union of British Colonies, which might ere long . . . form a counter-balancing power on the American Continent."¹⁷ This was the proposal which Strachan had made many years previously, and we may imagine that it was with a benevolent eye that the Archdeacon watched the disembarkation of Lord Durham at Toronto, and his welcome at the wharf with a salute of nineteen guns and "Martial Music" by the citizens marshalled "in their respective Societies and Companies, as the Fire and Hook and Ladder Companies, and the St. Patricks, the St. Andrews, and St. Georges Societies."¹⁸ Nevertheless Strachan does not seem at this time to have put the members of the Durham mission in possession of his views on the question of federation.¹⁹ But in September, when the news arrived of the disallowance of the Ordinance, he took immediate action to try to prevent Durham from taking any hasty action by which the federation scheme might be jeop-

¹⁵Strachan continued, however, privately to advocate a General Union. See his letter of December 15, 1824, to John Macaulay (Macaulay Papers), and his letter of January 19, 1834, to Hagerman (Strachan Letter-book, 1827-39, 239).

¹⁶Strachan Letter-book, 1827-41, 20, Strachan to McGillivray, April 20, 1838. These are notes of a letter evidently sent to Simon McGillivray.

¹⁷*Report of the Public Archives of Canada, 1923, 358.*

¹⁸*The Patriot*, July 20, 1838.

¹⁹Charles Buller wrote on October 22, 1838, in reply to a letter from Strachan of September 20, as if Strachan's opinions had previously been unknown to him: "I am delighted to find in you an advocate of the Federal Union of the British North American Provinces."

ardized. He at once wrote to Charles Buller expressing the conviction that Durham should remain at his post:

Nothing has happened which might not have been anticipated it was foreseen that his Lordships Political opponents would take pleasure in wounding & tra-ducing him & certainly no event would gratify them more than his Excellencys resignation—but it is a gratification which I trust they will never taste.

I persuade myself that Lord Durham will treat with contempt these miserable attacks which disgrace their authors and pursue to its termination the great object which brought him to Canada & on the success of which the happiness of millions depends.

This letter he concluded with the same plea for a federation of all the provinces which he had made to the Colonial Office in 1824: British North America should be "one territory or Kingdom . . . a nation acting in Unity and under the Protection of the British Govt."²⁰ A few days later he wrote to Edward Ellice describing the efforts being made in Toronto to persuade Durham not to leave the country:

His Lordships hands ought to have been strengthened instead of being weak-ened . . . but there appears to be no sympathy in England except for Murderers & Trajiltors—the peaceable and Loyal inhabitants may be massacred without exciting the smallest emotion but their Murderers are deemed worthy of kindness & protection. The consequence will in all probability be the renewal of insur-rectionary movements next winter and a growing indifference among the Loyalists . . .

A public meeting has been held here to express our unabated confidence in Lord Durhams administration and our deep concern at the unreasonable inter-ference of Parliament with his government. I thought it my duty at such a crisis to depart from my usual rule in keeping aloof from such meetings and not only promoted it but took a prominent part in its proceedings & moved the 2nd reso-lution. It may be very pleasing for British Statesmen in England to make party play of the Canadas but it is death to us & unless all honestly join in some wise & speedy arrangement a new dismemberment of the Empire is not far distant. Our public manifestation of confidence in Lord Durham is so far good and will be followed in many other places of this indeed care shall be taken but what grounds of certainty have we that the remedies he proposes may not be made the sport of Party Politics am[on]g Statesmen instead of setting themselves with sincerity to adopt or mould them into a final & permanent measure . . . I wish to God you were in the administration till the affairs of Canada are finally settled²¹

Durham's plans, however, were not to be changed, and at the beginning of October Strachan made a final effort to win support for federation by making the suggestion that his *Observations on the Policy of a General Union* should be printed in a Montreal paper. "I do not suppose," he wrote modestly, "that you will think much of it, but its publication would promote discussion

²⁰Strachan Letter-book, 1827-41, 43-4, September 20, 1838.

²¹*Ibid.*, 45-6, September 26, 1838.

& render a General Union familiar for I have been persuaded for many years that it is the only measure that can give strength & safety to the British North American Colonies."²²

By the following March all hope that a general union might be realized had apparently vanished; instead it seemed almost certain that a measure to unite the Canadas only would be adopted. "If such should be the case," wrote Strachan, "it will then become our duty to exert ourselves to make it work as well as possible tho' I cannot conceal from myself the anticipation of disastrous consequences. A general Union of all the Provinces might in my opinion be so modified as to regenerate British North America but a partial Union appears to me pregnant with evil. Should the measure be adopted I hope tho against hope that my anticipations may be disappointed."²³ So ended Strachan's connexion with the early proposals for Confederation.

The above quotation is very characteristic of Strachan. Many years before, in analysing his own character, he had come to the conclusion that he was not easily daunted.

I have however a strength of mind not easily dismayed, I feel with vehemence, but after revolving my misfortunes, and examining them for a few days in all their bearings I constantly find some source of consolation, either they are not so bad as they appeared to be, or there is some comfortable equivalent, or I determine to meet them boldly. The conflict during these deliberations is very severe, but I never fail to gain resolution & strength at its conclusion.²⁴

Some of his friends lacked this strength of character. To them the state of the country in 1838 was all but hopeless. At the end of that year his ex-pupil, the Honourable John Macaulay, for example, considered it probable that "we can never regain that state of security & repose which we fully enjoyed some 18 months ago. Under these circumstances," he wrote to his mother, "I have thought it well to provide you an *anchor to windward*, in the event of great troubles here, by vesting some money for you in New York, where I propose gradually adding to it."²⁵ "The Union," he wrote a few months later, "seems almost a settled matter . . . I do not like the measure. We shall never agree with the French. And then Lord Durham has broached doctrines upon Colonial government of so dangerous a character that I do not see how any Government is to be carried

²²*Ibid.*, 50-1, October 8, 1838.

²³*Ibid.*, 70, March 10, 1839.

²⁴Strachan Papers, Strachan to James Brown, May 24, 1812.

²⁵Ontario Archives, Macaulay Papers, John Macaulay to Ann Macaulay, November 20, 1838.

on."²⁶ This was a counsel of despair. But Strachan was of sterner stuff. If in his view a mistake was being made, he refused to lose hope, and, he concluded, should the Union Bill be carried, "it will then become our duty to make it work as well as possible."

It should perhaps be stated here that there is apparently no record of Bishop Strachan's interest in Confederation in the eighteen-sixties. Indeed, as he died in his ninetieth year in 1867, it is hardly to be expected that he would have been able actively to participate in bringing about the consummation of his earlier hopes.

With regard to what has been written above two or three points may be noted. In the first place it seems worth while recording that a scheme so far-reaching was considered as early as 1824. Strachan specifically speaks of a "Kingdom . . . a nation . . . under the Protection of the British Empire." It would be idle to suggest that he had any thought of the introduction of responsible government, and it is probable that he did not mean to suggest such a degree of independence as seems to be implied. Yet his scheme does contemplate a much greater degree of autonomy than is usually associated with a responsible politician of that period, especially such an uncompromising Tory as Strachan.

It may be also worth considering the charge sometimes laid against Strachan that, possibly because of a financial interest in the fur trade, he was hand in glove with the Montreal merchants, as, for instance, in his opposition to the Red River settlement. It seems more probable that the friendship between these merchants and Strachan was due to the fact that a very large proportion of them came from Aberdeenshire or its borders. But whatever may have been the influence exerted upon him in earlier days by his friends in the commercial metropolis, it is clear that, for reasons which have been given above, he was taking in 1824 an independent line. In that year his friend, the Honourable John Richardson of Montreal, expressed in a letter his disapproval of "a project by our C. Justice Sewell & your Atty Genl Robinson for a federative Union of all the British N. Am: Provinces."²⁷ Yet this was precisely the proposal which Strachan was strongly supporting. In this case Strachan did not allow his friendships to interfere with his political convictions.

Lastly, it seems clear that the leaders of the Family Compact

²⁶*Ibid.*, same to same, April 17, 1839.

²⁷Strachan Papers, November 27, 1824.

in Upper Canada were not unprogressive: they were not opposed to all constitutional change. They were anxious to establish in the province a form of society similar to that in England, and in opposition to the Radicals were led to support a colonial system which at any rate seemed a bulwark against the triumph of what they considered un-British principles. But it is unfair to charge them with opposition to all progress: they had their national aspirations, and it may be that in fact they were in some respects more far-seeing than their opponents.

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THE BASIS AND PERSISTENCE OF OPPOSITION TO CONFEDERATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK

RECENT research has done much to clarify the circumstances surrounding New Brunswick's entrance into Confederation. The crucial impact of British official importunity upon the sentiments of the people of the province, and the influence of Canadian campaign funds in the critical election of 1866 have been assigned their due weight as factors in inducing New Brunswick to accept the proposed change in the constitution of British North America. The use of the Fenian scare to impress upon the people the inadequacy of existing means of defence has received the attention which the importance of the subject warrants, and something of the effect of the failure to renew the Reciprocity Treaty has been noted. Yet there still remain certain aspects of the story which deserve a fuller treatment than they have hitherto received. Adequate consideration, for instance, has not yet been given to the causes for the rejection of the Quebec Resolutions in the New Brunswick election of March, 1865, or to the ensuing circumstances in the face of which the anti-Confederation cause gradually deteriorated to a point at which opposition became politically ineffective. This article attempts, therefore, to examine the grounds upon which opposition to union was based, and to describe how certain of those grounds became increasingly untenable throughout the year that followed the defeat of the Tilley government.

I

It is evident that in the early stages of the union movement there was a misapprehension of its significance, together with some degree of apathy, rather than a reasoned opposition. There was an inclination to regard Confederation "as intended to produce, by its agitation, some immediate effect on the condition of existing political parties rather than as designed to inaugurate a new constitutional system."¹ But apathy and a "willing ignorance" of the whole matter gave way to an increasing hostility throughout the autumn of 1864 on the part of influential sections of the press. Many, wrote one editor, as early as October 19, did not understand why the delegates who had gone to Charlottetown

¹*Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Union of the British North American Provinces, etc. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 8th Feb. 1867* (London, 1867), 85.

to consider Maritime Union, were now at Quebec, having given the lesser question the slip. It was insinuated that they were carried captive by the Canadians who "have a definite purpose to effect, a pressing internal difficulty to overcome . . . and it is not to be wondered at that they should strain their views to effect a union with the Lower Provinces, that will give them peace within themselves, besides some considerable material advantages."² But it would "not be very gratifying . . . to see . . . a portion of the revenue of this Province drawn off to widen and deepen and extend Canada's magnificent canals, as the *Toronto Globe*, with scarce concealed exultation, says will be done. It would be a source of regret to many to see their roads, bye-roads, bridges, and schools going down, down, down, while they see Canada growing great partly by aid of their money."

Money was a prominent feature of a long article carried by the *Headquarters* of Fredericton, on October 19. The assimilation of tariffs, it predicted, would mean the adoption of those of Canada. "Unless Canada consents to economize and curtail its expenses to a very considerable degree, which is not likely to happen, the Lower Provinces will have to raise their tariffs to that standard, as they will require a greater revenue to meet the expenses of government under the new confederation. It appears that they will have to make sacrifices and pay something handsome for the privilege of entering it, and seeing their representatives starring it in the Magnificent Parliament House, with its quadrangle, towers, and turrets at Ottawa." More than half the yearly expenditure of Canada had already been incurred. It must be clearly understood that none of this must be charged upon the revenue of the provinces, under the general government, but that it must be made a matter in which Canada alone would be liable.

Canada, however, was not the only villain in the piece. With some prescience the editor wrote, "The idea can hardly be ignored that this confederation business is more than a political move on the part of Canada—that the British government are at the bottom of it, and that the reversal of their colonial policy is not far distant."³ British sentiments regarding defence were becoming known in the provinces, since the views of Englishmen were

²Fredericton *Headquarters*, Oct. 19, 1864.

³Compare Chester Martin, "British Policy in Canadian Confederation" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XIII, March, 1932, 3-19).

quoted at some length in the local papers.⁴ It could not, however, yet be said positively that Britain would support Confederation on this ground. "In the uncertainty it would be a great relief to know positively what the British government expect the colonies to do." It would make "all the difference in the world" if it were known that the British government had expressed not merely approval, but desire.⁵ The editor's remark requires qualification. A large body of opinion continued hostile, even after a year of constant appeal to "loyal" sentiments. In the meantime it was necessary to use other means to mitigate the hostility.⁶

It is safe to say that the larger part of the New Brunswick press looked unfavourably upon Confederation throughout the autumn of 1864 and the winter of 1865. The reception accorded to Tilley and Gray while campaigning in Saint John was reported as cold and critical. However, this attitude was attributed by one editor, who had not yet become irrevocably committed to the support of either faction, to the fact that Confederation was a new subject concerning which the audience had only half-formed opinions. Although Tilley "delivered himself with his usual facility and energy," the speeches were not calculated "to convince their judgement and arouse enthusiasm" for Confederation. The sceptical editor was puzzled by the peculiar state of opinion early in the campaign. Everyone, he reported, admitted that the union must take place sooner or later; nevertheless there was a disposition evident on the part of some persons "to put the matter off," and of others, "to make the road rough." Tilley had shown "what he thought the people would get by the scheme, but he did not clearly make out what they would have to pay for it." He had scouted the idea that higher taxes would be imposed, or that the Canadian tariff would be the standard of assimilation. But he failed to convince his opponents, and the lukewarm among his constituents, that the general government, with its railway obligations and its provincial subsidies, could be carried on without raising the imposts on dutiable articles coming into the provinces. "He said the Canadian tariff was not to be the standard, at one time, because the forty-seven Lower Province members . . . would resist its imposition; at another he maintained that it was

⁴See for example the article by A. A. Bridgmen in the *Headquarters*, October 12, 1864.

⁵Fredericton *Headquarters*, Oct. 19, 1864.

⁶Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 43, Tilley to Macdonald, Nov. 23, 1864.

not in reality higher."⁷ It was asserted that Tilley pitched his hopes too high and his figures too low. In truth, none knew what the project would cost. "For all the outcry against Mr. A. J. Smith's figures, he is as likely to be correct as any of them."⁸

Soon after the adjournment of the Quebec Conference it had become known that Albert J. Smith would lead the opposition. He and his associates, drawn largely from among the opponents of the Tilley government, soon had a numerous following with the aid of which they hoped "to alarm the people and carry the elections."⁹ As public opinion warmed, the fight began to take on the aspect of a personal tilt between the two champions. The province became alive with public meetings as the leaders stumped the country proclaiming their respective faiths. Early in January, 1865, Tilley invaded Smith's home county of Westmorland.

Then welcome be Samuel L's tongue to the shock,
Though his figures be strong as the Westmorland rock,
For woe to his figures and woe to his cause,
When Alfred [*Sic*] the dauntless exposes his flaws

sang one anti-Confederationist. Borrowing epithets from the prize ring, Smith, with grandstand bravado, was hailed as "the Lion of Westmorland" and the "Douglas of Dorchester."¹⁰

Although the provincial intellect was no doubt titillated by such superficial chaff, it never lost sight of the real issues that beat with an ever insistent and fateful rhythm upon the public consciousness. Politicians, editors, farmers, manufacturers, and financiers, wrestled with the crucial problem of hard cash. What was Confederation to cost? Would it increase taxes? Would it stimulate business? Would it facilitate trade, ensure the safety of New Brunswick and the Empire generally? How were the signs of the times to be read and interpreted?

Early in the campaign the Smith faction gained a powerful supporter in the person of William Needham of Fredericton, who, throughout the ensuing months, raked the Quebec scheme with his broadsides. Referring to the resolution concerning the development of the West, he asked what New Brunswick could do, with only fifteen members in a House of one hundred and ninety-four, to prevent the expenditure of any amount in such

⁷Fredericton *Headquarters*, Nov. 23, 1864.

⁸*Ibid.*, Dec. 7, and Dec. 21, 1864.

⁹Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 49, Fisher to Macdonald, Dec. 6, 1864.

¹⁰Fredericton *Headquarters*, Dec. 28, 1864.

undertakings.¹¹ And in addition to Canada's canals, the people of New Brunswick would "have to pay also for making a highway—a railroad—between Canada and the Pacific, a project on which old George Brown has breakfasted, dined, and supped for the last twenty years."¹² In the railways to the North-West the Maritime Provinces could have no present or future interest, but they would bring upon present or future generations large burdens of taxation.¹³ It seemed clear to him that New Brunswick, with its small representation in the proposed federal Assembly, could not hope to block a large expenditure on public works from which the anti-unionists conceived she would derive no benefit.

If the development of the West were the price the Maritime Provinces would have to pay for securing the Intercolonial Railway, provided this railway were held out as a bait on the hook of Confederation, what constitutional guarantee was there that the railway would be built forthwith? This was, perhaps, a difficult question for Tilley to answer, even to his own satisfaction. On February 13, he placed the issue squarely before Macdonald:

We have always regarded it as the policy of the conference that the subsidy to the Local Governments and the building of the Intercolonial Railway would be secured to us by Imperial Act. The delegates from the Lower Provinces could never have consented to the union on any other terms, and so understanding it have represented it to our people. . . . It is said that you stated that there would be no Imperial Legislation on the subject of the Intercolonial. Now I can assure you that no delegate from this Province will consent to union unless we have this granted. And we will certainly fail in all our elections unless I have word . . . saying that this security will be given us. All will be lost without this; as it is, great alarm and anxiety has been created.¹⁴

Macdonald had stated publicly that an agreement to build a railway could not be a portion of a constitution. But a week later he telegraphed his assurance to Tilley that, as the railway was one of the conditions on which the constitution was adopted at Quebec, it would be inserted in the imperial Act giving legal effect to the union.¹⁵ But in spite of Macdonald's assurance to Tilley, and Tilley's assurance to the electorate, that the railway would be provided for in the imperial statute, it was as yet by no means certain that the provision would be agreed to by the British

¹¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1864.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1865.

¹⁴Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 61, Tilley to Macdonald, Feb. 13, 1865.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Macdonald to Tilley, Feb. 20, 1865.

government. It was at least felt by Governor Gordon that the imperial government would incorporate in the Act only those provisions of a general constitutional nature, and that the details would be left to the good faith of the provinces themselves.¹⁶ There is no doubt that the measure of uncertainty with regard to the railway contributed to the defeat of the unionists in March, 1865.

Even if the securing of the Intercolonial Railway appeared certain to some observers, the vaguest notions were entertained as to which sections of the province would benefit by the railway, since the route would be decided by the general legislature of the union. That the northern route would be chosen seemed probable, as it was favoured by half the members of the New Brunswick government, and by the whole of Nova Scotia. Moreover, it was in the interest of Canada East to have as much of the road as possible within its own territory, namely, by building it across the Gaspé highland from Rivière du Loup to the Baie des Chaleurs. It would serve the steam-mills of Buctouche, Richibucto, Miramichi, Bathurst, and Dalhousie, all of which shipped large quantities of deals and lumber to Canada, which would thus support them in pressing for the northern route.¹⁷ No consistent statement could be secured from the government. Charles Fisher of Fredericton asserted that the road would pass north through the Saint John and Keswick valleys. Mitchell and Johnson, both of the North Shore, stated quite as definitely that their section would have it.

Mr. Tilley, will you stop your puffing and blowing
And tell us which way the railway is going?¹⁸

wailed an exasperated rhymster. How would Saint John benefit from a railway along the North Shore? asked Smith. Even if it were run up the Saint John River valley, the effect, he asserted, would be to cause a flow of the products of the up-river counties into Canada, instead of bringing them down to the provincial metropolis at the mouth.¹⁹

While the different sections fought over the railway route, speculation ran rife concerning the possible effects of Confederation upon the industrial structure of the province. The cleavage of opinion seems not to have followed either occupational or class

¹⁶*Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Union of the British North American Provinces*, Gordon to Cardwell, Feb. 27, 1865.

¹⁷Fredericton Headquarters, Feb. 1, 1865.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1865.

lines. The manufacturing interests were divided, some strongly favouring union. Having viewed it "in all its bearings" they felt satisfied that it would prove beneficial not only to domestic manufacturers, but to every other interest throughout the province. But dissenting voices were loud and long. In a measured oration delivered early in December, 1864, Needham asked how union would open up to the manufacturers of the province an immense market in Canada.

I ask you tanners, I ask you foundrymen, is it possible, is it likely that you will flood that country with your wares. If so, why is our Province flooded, our shops crammed with American goods! Look at it—where we have one foundry, one tannery, one distillery, they have thousands. After the Union you will be in a worse position than you are now; for you will . . . have the Canadians flooding you with goods also.²⁰

According to this school of thought Canada would have no need for the manufactures of the Maritime Provinces, but would have no objection to flooding them with her goods. With arguments such as this one anti-Confederation editor wrote that Needham had "Knocked Fisher higher than a kite."

While the fight waxed hot over local issues a measure of attention was given to the imperial implications of the proposed change. The argument for Confederation as a means toward improved defence did not go unchallenged. It was publicly alleged that Canada was trying to get the Maritime Provinces into Confederation, to share the burden of her defence as agreed with the British government.²¹ It was easy to prove, maintained one orator, that the mother country was determined to drive these colonies into some kind of union, and the ravings of those who were determined to resist it "might as well be addressed to the planet Saturn." The *Headquarters* expressed a forthright disbelief that the British government were determined to force the colonies into union.²² Moreover, it was ridiculous to suppose that Confederation would put British North America into a better state of defence. With or without it, if there were an invasion, it would be as impossible for New Brunswick to resist as for a shad to walk up a bean-pole.²³

When other arguments were deemed insufficient, high constitutional principle was invoked against the delegates who had

²⁰*Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1864.

²¹*Ibid.* Disapproval of Confederation as a defence measure was by no means unanimous. See *The Borderer and Westmorland and Cumberland Advertiser*, Sackville, N.B., Feb. 24, 1865.

²²Fredericton *Headquarters*, Dec. 21, 1864.

²³*Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1865.

abandoned the legislative union of the Lower Provinces for the Quebec scheme without the consent of the legislatures to which they owed their appointments. It was denied that the Governor-General had called the Quebec Conference with the assent and approbation of the Queen. More probably, no one on the other side of the Atlantic had heard anything about it.²⁴ It was on the ground of the well-understood principle of responsible government, that Needham declared that the wish of the people should first have been heard through their representatives; that the Governor-General had had no right to call the Quebec Conference "there to sign and seal and deliver over to himself a protocol making a radical change in the constitution of the country, without going to the people and asking them whether they would have it or not."²⁵

As early as the first week in December, 1864, A. J. Smith announced his objections to the Quebec scheme and foreshadowed the platform upon which his party would appeal to the electorate. The adoption of the Quebec plan could mean increased taxation; the loss to the province of political influence and status; the expenditure of vast sums on Canadian canals; the unfairness of eighty cents a head as a basis for taxation, since it would not be increased, whereas the revenue of the general government would be increased; and the unconstitutional behaviour of the delegates at Charlottetown and Quebec. Moreover, he asserted, the Inter-colonial Railway would be "no great boon."²⁶

In the light of the ubiquitous blasts of the anti-Confederation press, it is difficult to discover the basis for the Lieutenant-Governor's optimistic belief in the victory of the union party. According to his diagnosis, local interests and local partialities would decide the issue. Only in three constituencies, Saint John, York, and Westmorland, would Confederation affect the result. Fisher was less sanguine of immediate success. He recognized that a hard fight lay ahead. "Some of us may go down for a while in the operation but we will carry it finally," wrote Fisher to Macdonald early in the campaign.²⁷ If Governor Gordon remained unimpressed by the gathering clouds of opposition he might at least have received some intimation of the approaching *débâcle* from the defection of G. L. Hatheway, an influential

²⁴*Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1864.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1864.

²⁷Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 49.

member of the government, who became no ineffectual agent in securing the defeat of his former colleagues.²⁸

The desertion of Hatheway only served to increase the popular suspicion of the government that stemmed in part from the diatribes of the opposition leaders against the Quebec Resolutions; and these leaders themselves pursued a policy of opposition because they were identified or involved with certain interested groups who believed that the realization of cherished objectives would be balked if the proposed union were accomplished. Prominent among these groups were the banking community of Saint John, the Roman Catholic church, and the mercantile element who were eager for more effective communication with the United States. The testimony of John Hamilton Gray, a defeated candidate, justifies the emphasis placed upon the crucial role of the bankers in the overthrow of the government. A week after the election Gray informed Macdonald that "... the banking interests united against us. They at present have a monopoly and their directors used their influence unsparingly. They dreaded the competition of Canadian banks coming here and the consequent destruction of that monopoly²⁹—and many a businessman now in their power felt it not sage to hazard an active opposition to their influences."³⁰

Equally decisive was the action of the Catholic section of the population. Fear of the Protestant influence of Canada West and especially of Grand Trunk control of the Intercolonial Railway were salient motives. Control of the projected railway, if it were secured by the Grand Trunk, would give that company a guiding hand in land settlement adjacent to the railway line. The Bishop of Saint John had for years taken a great interest in the settlement of his co-religionists on the wilderness land of New Brunswick.³¹ But by far the strongest single element opposed to union with Canada was the business fraternity who

²⁸*Correspondence Respecting the Proposed Union of the British North American Provinces*, Hatheway to the Lieutenant-Governor, enclosed with Gordon to Cardwell, Jan. 30, 1865. See also the *Headquarters*, March 8, 1865: "Mr. Hatheway has been mainly influential in bringing about the signal defeat that Mr. Tilley and his government have sustained on the question that they were forced to submit to the people." It was, however, an over-statement.

²⁹Their fears were apparently justified. In the first Dominion Parliament it was necessary for Galt to explain: "The Bank of Montreal did the government business in the greater part of the Dominion, and it was natural that they should extend an agency of that institution to do the public business in the Maritime Provinces" (quoted in the *Ottawa Times*, Nov. 12, 1867).

³⁰Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 68, J. H. Gray (N. B.) to Macdonald, March 13, 1865.

³¹*Ibid.*, VI, 95ff., Tilley to Galt, March, 1865.

had been endeavouring for a decade to integrate the commerce of the province more closely with that of the United States, and thus to make the most of New Brunswick's historic position as the north-eastern extension of the Atlantic geographic province.³² Separated as New Brunswick was from Canada by the Appalachian barrier, trade with that province was negligible in comparison with her expanding commercial relations with the United States. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the rival Intercolonial Railway, which was so closely associated with the Confederation movement, did not appeal to practical business leaders who were intent upon promoting the extension of New Brunswick's European and North American Railroad westward to the Maine border where it was to connect with the railway systems of New England. Such an alignment of forces proved too strong for the government to withstand, and it is by no means surprising that it suffered defeat at the polls on March 6, 1865.

II

On March 27, 1865, the Tilley government resigned from office and an anti-Confederation government was formed by Albert J. Smith and R. D. Wilmot. Prominent among its members were Timothy Warren Anglin, Irish editor of the *Saint John Freeman*, and G. L. Hatheway who had resigned from the Tilley government before the election as a protest against the Quebec Resolutions. The new government, with a large majority in the legislature, seemed in a strong position. None of the important men of the union party possessed seats in the new Assembly, although in the Legislative Council, Mitchell and Chandler were to continue ably to uphold the unionist point of view.

In the session which opened in March, 1865, no new position was taken up by either party, and the old arguments, already familiar on the hustings and in the press, were repeated on the floor of the House. Owing to the absence of Tilley, Fisher, and Gray, and because of the small number of unionist representatives, the new government and its supporters were able to present their case more forcefully than were their opponents. It was doubtless for this reason that the broad vision of a new British-American nation, which had found such conspicuous expression in the public addresses following the Charlottetown Conference, was now

³²A. G. Bailey, "Railways and the Confederation Issue in New Brunswick, 1863-5" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXI, Dec., 1940, 367-83). See also E. E. Chase, *Maine Railroads* (Portland, 1926).

totally absent. In its place was to be found, notably from the tongue of Smith himself, the expression of a fairly definite, if not intense, local feeling and of pride in the achievement of a self-government which he claimed had been violated by the delegates who had proceeded to Quebec to alter the constitution of the province and had exceeded their powers, in a way for which history provided no precedent.

These delegates who assembled on Prince Edward Island for a particular purpose, abandoned their business and arrogated to themselves powers that did not legitimately belong to them, and undertook to alter the institutions of the country and surrender the independence we have so long enjoyed. Is it not the duty of the Government to exercise their functions within the four corners of the Constitution? Is it not their duty to preserve inviolate the independence of the People?

It would, however, doubtless be an error to stress this element in the anti-Confederation point of view. More practical considerations continued to weigh heavily. Although one member waxed sentimental over the destruction of the link with England, which he envisaged if the Quebec Resolutions were adopted,³³ dollar-and-cent considerations received the greatest attention. There was no guarantee that Canada would keep faith in the matter of the Intercolonial Railway.³⁴ The Lower Provinces would be dragged in to bear their proportion of the expense of the great canal project of Canada West. "Canada has to borrow money to pay the interest on her own debts, and then wants to assume ours. It is like a bankrupt wanting to assume the debts of a rich man." So ran the argument, which Needham took up on the question of status. Powers of local government "would be confined to making laws to prevent cows from running on the commons, providing that sheep shall wear bells, and to issue tavern licenses."³⁵ "Forty-eight thousand men in this province have said we don't want Confederation, and that should be the end of it."

MacMillan, former member of the Tilley government, took up the cudgel for Confederation. "I do not believe," he said, "that to unite these British North American Colonies under one rule would be a political injury to them, neither do I believe the people of the country think so. I do not believe that the people are prepared to say that it will be commercially injurious to them to have a free intercourse in all articles and manufactures between the Provinces, setting aside the barriers of the Customs House."

³³*New Brunswick, Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, May 31, 1865, 111.

³⁴*Ibid.*, May 30, 1865, 110.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 111.

He asserted, moreover, that provincial opinion was veering, and that another election would show two-thirds of the people of the province in favour of Confederation. Indeed, Tilley thought he observed some indication of a change of heart on the railway question. The state of the public revenue, and the prospect of a decrease during the ensuing year, together with the discount at which provincial debentures were being sold in the English market, would prevent any government from undertaking Western Extension as a government work. This fact was becoming recognized in the financial circles of Saint John, which "began to fear that they have not acted wisely, hence the reaction in Saint John on the confederation question."³⁶ Nevertheless the reply to the Speech from the Throne expressed "regret that existing laws preclude immediate action for the accomplishment of the extension of the European and North American Railroad westward from Saint John to the American border."³⁷ Realizing that to commit the province to carrying out Western Extension as a government work would prevent the raising of New Brunswick's share of the loan for the building of the Intercolonial Railway, Fisher declared his unequivocal opposition to the project, stating that it should be built by a private company.

An amendment was moved to the reply to the Speech from the Throne, embodying the view that the road should be built by private enterprise aided from public revenues, but it was defeated by a vote of twenty-nine to ten.³⁸ It was necessary "to act conjointly with the people of the United States, for they have to meet us at the boundary," declared Smith.³⁹ The road must be "a part of the great highway to the United States." J. W. Cudlip, diehard "Anti," voiced the view of the commercial interests of Saint John when he asserted that ". . . it was necessary to connect with the United States. It would then give the people who travelled and who had an eye to our resources, an inducement to come in and develop them, and would greatly further the trading influence and make American people come into the Province who never came before. The commerce between the Province and the United States had very greatly increased, and was increasing year by year." New Brunswick now received vast quantities of goods from the United States which formerly came

³⁶Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 95, Tilley to Galt, March, 1865.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 33.

³⁸*New Brunswick, Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1865, 26-8.

³⁹*New Brunswick, Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, May 26, 1865, 96.

from England. On June 6, Cudlip moved that the government should proceed with the construction of Western Extension as part of the European and North American Railroad, but that, as haste was essential, a private company should not be prevented from undertaking the work with the aid of the provincial subsidy of \$10,000 a mile as provided by the Facility Bill of 1864.⁴⁰ The same provisions should apply to "Eastern Extension" from the Bend to Truro so as to link Nova Scotia with the United States. The unionists endeavoured to block the move on the ground of inexpediency. The province should not commit itself to such an outlay at a time when there was such a heavy drain on public finances and a large debt due to creditors in Great Britain. Nevertheless, Cudlip's resolution was carried by a vote of twenty-five to thirteen.

In spite of the seeming assurance with which the government proceeded with the legislative programme, it was not as strong as it appeared. The completeness of the late victory at the polls could not disguise the divergent interests and views among members of the Cabinet. To some extent the attrition suffered by the government throughout the ensuing year, stemmed from Cudlip's resolution concerning Western Extension, which did not exclude the building of the road by private enterprise. Anglin, who had stated on nomination day that "it must be built as a government work," continued to sit in the government. The opportunity was not to be missed, and he did not go untaunted by the unionist press.⁴¹ Although he had declared that he would use his efforts to turn out any government which would not build Western Extension as a government work, the administration endorsed a grant to assist a private company in its construction, "and still Mr. Anglin is its apologist and tame public servant."⁴² Although he continued to support the anti-Confederation cause, Anglin had resigned from the Cabinet before the issue was again joined at the polls.

III

In the meantime, while "interest" became divided on the question of railway policy and on other matters, the people of New Brunswick were to suffer no misapprehension concerning the path of "duty" as decreed by the Colonial Office. That the

⁴⁰*New Brunswick, Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, June 6, 1865, 223.

⁴¹*Morning News*, Saint John, May 8, 1865.

⁴²*True Humourist*, Saint John, May 26, 1865.

Canadians contributed in no small way to the formulation of the view held at the Colonial Office is so well known as to need no stressing. On the other hand, the reaction of New Brunswick opinion and policy to the course set for it by the British government is important to delineate, because it was conceived to be the task of imperial policy to modify this opinion so that it should harmonize with imperial interest.

The effect of the defeat on Canadian policy had been marked. In that province the Quebec Resolutions had carried in both Houses by majorities of three to one. Tilley's defeat had so frightened the legislature of Nova Scotia that Tupper forestalled a hostile vote only by side-tracking the discussion in favour of the question of Maritime Union. Drastic action to reverse the verdict in New Brunswick was the immediate concern of Macdonald and his associates. Three weeks after the defeat he wrote: We now send four of our ministers to England to take stock . . . with the British government to see what can be done. . . . We intend also to arrange, if possible, the subject of defence. I do not despair of carrying out our great project sooner or later. I quite agree . . . that the British Government will carry their point if they only adopt measures to that end, and we shall spare no pains to impress the necessity of such a course upon them with what success remains to be seen.⁴³

In 1865 A. T. Galt stressed Confederation as a means to the continuance of the British connection when he declared that a decided expression of policy on the part of the British government would have "a most marked effect on the loyal and high-spirited people of the Maritime Provinces."⁴⁴ Accordingly "the strongest delegation which had ever left Canada," Galt, Macdonald, Brown, and Cartier, set out for England within a few weeks of Tilley's defeat to impress the Colonial Office with the dire necessity of reversing the verdict in New Brunswick.⁴⁵ Fisher, Tilley, and Tupper were parties to the plan, bluntly declaring that the actions of the Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had ensured the defeat of the measure.⁴⁶ On April 5, Fisher wrote to Macdonald that he was "satisfied if the press here learn that the British government are anxious for the union it will influence their mood." It would be well "if the dispatch indicating that opinion could be got out before the middle or latter end of May It is said our governor has resigned or intends to. I hope

⁴³Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 66, Macdonald to Gray (P.E.I.), March 24, 1865.

⁴⁴Martin, "British Policy in Canadian Confederation," 18.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 17.

it is true. . . . I know everyone that he might be supposed to have the least influence with, or associates with in any way, violently opposed Confederation, a state of things I cannot think could exist without his procurement in some way." Macdonald was admonished to be sure, if a new incumbent were appointed, "that he is honestly and faithfully at heart in earnest to carry confederation." With such a man acting "friendly and in earnest," Fisher believed it could be carried in three months after his arrival. "That is the tendency of the public mind."⁴⁷

The New Brunswick press was not slow to grasp the implication of the Canadian plan. The public must "keep watch on this Canadian Mission."⁴⁸ Nevertheless the anti-Confederation press affirmed their belief that the British government had their interests at heart, and might at most persuade, but would not attempt to coerce, the province. "We do not think that there will be any attempt made to force any unpalatable measure upon this province, but there will be some pressure brought to bear. . . ." Doubtless, surmised the *Headquarters*, the thought was running in Macdonald's head that "it is intolerable that New Brunswick with its paltry 250,000 of a population should stand in the way of a great scheme that Canada with 2,500,000 is desirous of adopting, and no doubt if it is properly represented the Imperial government would see it in the same light, and 'reason with' this stubborn province." "It is evident," was the conclusion "that these Canadian politicians will have to be narrowly watched." In June the *Montreal Gazette* took it upon itself to lecture to the Maritime Provinces concerning their duty to the mother country and the Empire, exploiting the sentiment of loyalty so constantly protested in those provinces:

The Imperial Government . . . will not dictate to the Maritime Provinces what they shall do in matters of local legislation or concernment; but it can and we believe it will, say upon what terms the Imperial navy will protect their coasts and . . . garrison their towns. It is idle for them to conceal the fact from themselves—confederation or union of some sort is a condition of the continuance of British connection. They have to decide now at how much they esteem that connection . . . or whether . . . it is mere lip loyalty.⁴⁹

Since the British government had already expressed its approval of Confederation on the ground of imperial defence, the reception of the Canadian delegation at the Colonial Office was

⁴⁷Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, Fisher to Macdonald, April 5, 1865.

⁴⁸Fredericton *Headquarters*, March 22, 1865.

⁴⁹Quoted in *The Borderer*, Sackville, N.B., June 16, 1865.

extremely cordial. Cartier pointed out that the British government could exercise a very great influence through the decided expression of its views, in order to reverse the verdict. Cardwell replied that the government would "use every proper means of influence to carry into effect without delay the proposed confederation." The attention of the Smith government was to be drawn to the intimate connection between the small population and the measures that would be necessary for the defence of the province. New Brunswick was to bear in mind that as a separate province it could make no adequate provision for its own defence and that it would therefore "rest in a very great degree upon the defence which may be provided for it by Great Britain." "It will consequently be likely to appear to your advisors," wrote Cardwell to the Governor on April 12, 1865, "reasonable and wise that, in examining the question of the proposed union, they should attach great weight to the views and wishes of this country. . . ."⁵⁰ Gordon was to impress upon his legislature the concern felt in England for imperial defence. The publication in the *Royal Gazette* on July 15, of the Monck-Cardwell correspondence could have left no doubt in the minds of New Brunswickers concerning the wishes of the British government.

The fears expressed earlier in the year by the Fredericton *Headquarters* were now realized. Its readers had been warned that the Canadian mission to England would have to be watched narrowly, for they intended to steal a march on New Brunswick. "It is evident they have done so. . . . It is evident that the Home authorities have only looked at the grand outline . . . from an Imperial point of view; they have not curiously examined the details, and how they were likely to affect most injuriously the interests of this small province . . . the negotiations were conducted as between the British Government and Canada alone. The conduct of Canada throughout has been most arrogant, irritating and insulting to this Province."⁵¹ The scheme originated in the political necessities of Canada and "the Imperial approval was only an after-clap." And the Saint John *Evening Globe* asked: How many English publicists have examined the features of that obnoxious scheme of confederation agreed upon at Quebec? . . . How many of them know anything about the Northwest territory, about the enlargement of Canadian canals, or the building of Canadian fortifications, in so far as these matters affect us? How many of them know that our taxation will be double the moment we enter upon

⁵⁰Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, 117.

⁵¹Fredericton *Headquarters*, July 19, 1865; Sept. 6, 1865.

Confederation? How many of them know that the Canadians are a people with whom we have little or no trade; that they are a people for whom we have no more affection than we have for the people of . . . any other British Colony.⁵²

The *Freeman* could not contain its indignation, "expressed with Fenian venom" at the British Colonial Secretary for acting as though union were a *fait accompli*.⁵³

There is little doubt that when Smith and Allen set out to lay the "true" situation and feelings of New Brunswick before the Colonial Office, they had the support of the majority in their own province. The *Headquarters* expressed confidence that the British government would give their views every consideration. But in view of the strong representations of the Canadian delegation, with whom the British government was now publicly in accord, the hopes of the editor were far too sanguine. Nevertheless the mission bore strong views across the Atlantic. Cudlip had stated in the House that false statements were being circulated in England by the Canadian delegation to induce the imperial Parliament to legislate for New Brunswick in the matter of intercolonial union. "If there is anything of that kind in contemplation, they had better pause before they attempt it, for we would resist coercion whether it was brought against us directly or indirectly." He had then moved that the delegation be sent to England to make known the view of New Brunswick, that "the consummation of the said Scheme would prove politically, commercially, and financially disastrous to the best interests" of the province. The right of the people to decide all questions affecting their own local interests for the promotion of their prosperity and welfare issued from their right of internal self-government. Moreover the committee of the House had "reason to fear that Her Majesty's Government are but imperfectly aware of the true feelings of the people of this Province on the subject." The resolution had passed by a vote of twenty-nine to ten. The Governor had been asked to inform the Secretary of State "how entirely this scheme has been rejected by the people of this province." On July 15, Gordon had forwarded to Cardwell an enclosure from the Executive Council, giving as the reason for having repudiated Confederation that "they were unable to discover anything in it that gave promise of either moral or material advantage to the empire or themselves; or that it afforded a prospect of improved administration or increased prosperity." "To confer on this Province a right of

⁵²*Evening Globe*, Saint John, Sept. 8, 1865.

⁵³*Morning News*, Saint John, Nov. 13, 1865.

self-government would have been a mockery" if the wishes of the mother country were in all cases to be followed when they did not coincide with the views of "those on whom alone the responsibility of action in the Province falls." In spite of these representations, Cardwell informed the delegates that he "could give no countenance to any proposals which would tend to delay the confederation of all the Provinces" The failure of the anti-Confederation mission was hailed as another milestone on the road to ultimate triumph by the unionist press.

IV

Long before Cardwell's rebuff, the Smith government showed a certain lack of strength. It had difficulty in filling vacancies in a number of public offices. By April 5, it had not appointed a postmaster, solicitor-general, or any legislative councillor,⁵⁴ through fear, an opponent stated, of suffering reverses at the polls. Uncertainty over railway policy was partly the cause, and British pronouncements may have had some effect, although the anti-Confederation faction continued to believe that the British government would not use coercion. "Rather poor comfort," commented Fisher privately.⁵⁵ The hope was expressed by the supporters of union that the Canadians would use means to influence the Orangemen of the province to vote for Confederation by playing up "loyalty" and the British connection through the lodges. Roman Catholics appeared to be as strongly opposed as ever. There were about six hundred Catholic voters in York County, and Fisher despaired of getting more than twenty of them in his forthcoming election campaign. "I find them," he wrote, "still in a solid phalanx united against confederation, and I know that no argument but one from the church will reach them."

In spite of this opposition, the unionists continued to plan how they could capitalize upon the weakened position of Smith's government, which had refused A. R. Wetmore the attorney-generalship because this would have necessitated his risking re-election in Saint John. Smith decided to take that office himself, and the unionists believed that he would be returned without opposition as he had strong backing in his own county

⁵⁴Macdonald Papers, Confederation Correspondence, VI, Fisher to Macdonald, April 5, 1865.

⁵⁵*Ibid.* Fisher to Macdonald (confidential), Aug. 13, 1865.

of Westmorland. Tilley was confident of victory in Saint John when that riding should be opened.⁵⁶

It was in York County, however, that the most conspicuous battle was to be fought. Attorney-General Allen having been raised to the Bench, the constituency was opened. Both sides prepared to engage in a major offensive. Fisher, who was the most likely unionist candidate, feared that the government might bring forth a strong lumber merchant and spend an enormous amount of money. Fisher might raise the cry of Fenianism against his opponent and arouse the Orange lodges, with the connivance of the Canadians, but as to money, he stated bluntly to Macdonald, he did not have it to spend.⁵⁷ It was felt that Fisher could be returned with an expenditure of eight or ten thousand dollars, and the Canadian unionists were solicited to contribute to the common cause.

When Smith arrived in Fredericton after his unsuccessful mission to England, a party caucus was held to determine what should be done to fight the election in York County. Although it seemed evident that the Catholic bishop and his followers would continue to oppose Confederation, Anglin was distasteful to the majority of Protestants, particularly those of Loyalist descent and the immigrants from the north of Ireland. In order to meet this situation it was determined that John Pickard, a wealthy lumber merchant and an Orangeman, should run on the anti-Confederation ticket. A Catholic candidate was also presented on the same ticket with Pickard, but on nomination day he retired in favour of Pickard who thus perhaps secured the bulk of the Catholic vote although he himself was an Orangeman. Moreover, Pickard could afford to spend a considerable sum of money on the election, and was in a position to pay it if he were elected. Only an outlay on the part of the Canadians could meet competition of this kind, because although Fisher did not lack resources of his own, it was suspected that the Smith government would spend "any amount of money."⁵⁸

Fisher did not present himself as a candidate until a short time before nomination day, and many in the county did not know that he had decided to run until after he was nominated as Pickard's opponent. On nomination day Fisher branded the government with Fenianism "without much mercy," but was

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, Tilley to Macdonald, Sept. 13, 1865.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 138 ff., Fisher to Macdonald (confidential), Aug. 13, 1865.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 167 ff., Fisher to Macdonald, Nov. 11, 1865.

compelled to state that before Confederation was adopted it must again be submitted to the people at a general election. As the campaign proceeded the whole province became excited from one end to the other. Although Fisher never left his office until the polling day,⁵⁹ Pickard, Needham, and other anti-Confederation leaders scoured the country. A lot of young men, acting in Fisher's interest, followed them around to refute their statements. Orangemen and Loyalists were not unmoved by the intense British feeling created by Fisher, and, according to one account, "all sorts of intimidation forced many of the voters to change their tickets." It is uncertain as to what part Governor Gordon played in the election. Although officially committed by his instructions from the British government to support Confederation, his personal views may have remained unchanged. His gardener, coachman, and grocer, it was stated, voted against Fisher.

Fisher wrote jubilantly to Macdonald about his victory in York County and of the moral effect on public opinion throughout the province. But he politely reminded Macdonald of the day of reckoning. His expenditure had been large: "We look to you," he wrote, "to help us out of the scrape, for if every dollar is not paid it will kill us at the general election. If it is met fairly, we have a plain course open for confederation. . . . Do not allow us to want now or we are all gone together."⁶⁰ He represented the victory as the turning point in the great Confederation struggle. It had inspired Confederationists everywhere with visions of ultimate success. The jubilation was general in official circles, although Cardwell was disheartened by the unopposed return of Smith from Westmorland. On November 22, Lord Monck wrote to congratulate Macdonald and his colleagues on the return of Fisher for York County. "I think," he declared, "that this is the most important thing that has happened since the Quebec conference, and if followed up judiciously affords a good omen of success in our spring campaign."

There are, however, reasons for believing that the official optimism was unwarranted and that Fisher's election did not in fact represent a marked swing of opinion toward Confederation. Fisher's friends did their best to keep the issue out of the campaign, and he himself only succeeded in checkmating the anti-unionists by pledging himself to oppose Confederation if it were

⁵⁹According to his own statement. See *ibid.*, 167 ff.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 167 ff., Nov., 1865.

presented to the then existing legislature. Moreover, his supporters diverted attention from the real issues involved by invoking the red herring of Fenianism. "The Fisher party have worked the Fenian cry well, and it has been successful . . . the absurd, and as it is now known, fearfully exaggerated telegrams about Fenian doings in Canada, were artfully taken advantage of to work upon the fears of the electors . . ." So ran the *Head-quarters'* post mortem. Furthermore, the belief was publicly stated that "the Canadian government have largely aided their party here by hard cash . . ."

Similar means were employed by the "Antis," although the origin of the funds remains partly undisclosed. The *Saint John Telegraph* revealed one source of support when it denounced the Smith government "for giving a certain enterprising lumber operator [Alexander Gibson], who happens to be a very active Anti-confederate, . . . the privilege of purchasing certain tracts of land." The sale was denounced as a political act and awoke an outcry from the unionist opposition. "Antis" countered with the assertion that the land, comprising two tracts of 4,903 and 10,000 acres in York County, was, in any case, unfit for settlement. Nevertheless the opportunity for sniping was not to be lost. The *True Humorist*, tireless ridiculer of "Anti" politicians, concocted for the occasion an imaginary conversation between members of the Smith government, in the course of which they referred to themselves as having swapped away "15,000 acres of the Public Lands to one man for a few hours strutting around the polls," and as having paid out "the public money drawn from the emaciated vaults of the People's Bank!" The government of 1862 refused to go beyond a mere survey when it found Gibson wanted 15,000 acres of prime land on the central route of the Intercolonial Railway—"That's true, and Gibson turned against the Government from that hour, and got nothing until we came in; and then we rescinded the order. How he used to dog me around till we rescinded the order."

The resignation of R. D. Wilmot from the Cabinet proved to be a more serious problem for the Smith government than the jibes of the *True Humorist*. Wilmot afterwards declared that the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty had converted him, and denied that he had changed his opinion while on a visit to Canada in reply to the insinuation that he had been "bought." Whatever may have been the reasons for Wilmot's change of front, the Governor planned to capitalize upon it as a means of driving

Smith from office, by retaining Wilmot whom Smith refused to meet at the council table. The Governor could not be blamed for the failure of the plan, although the unionists continued to suspect him for remaining "at heart opposed to union" when he appointed two inveterate "Antis" to the Bench to the neglect of Wilmot's claim. "Wilmot is a methodist," wrote Fisher on February 13, 1866, "and the methodists, baptists, and presbyterians feel especially insulted at this appointment. These denominations are four-fifths of the confederation party alone Anti newspapers publicly speak of the policy of delay as a means by which they intend to worry out Canada until the coalition fails."

There can be no doubt that the more earnestly the Governor promoted union, as the representative of the British government, the more the effort to exert influence became distasteful to numbers of persons in the province. The Canadians, it was averred, had "brought all the pressure they could to break down the opposition in New Brunswick They have induced Mr. Cardwell to write a series of irritating despatches by way of exercising upon New Brunswick what he calls the just authority of the Imperial Government, and they are now waiting anxiously to see if New Brunswick will break down under the pressure."

V

A review of evidence gleaned from the press and from the public and private pronouncements of political leaders reveals that the opposition to Confederation was based upon economic, political, and religious considerations. Moreover, certain elements of the population, such as the Roman Catholic, appear to have been opposed to union on any terms on the ground that it would be harmful to their interests. Into this category also a section of the manufacturing group would appear to fall. On the other hand, there were those who directed their attacks not against the principle of Confederation so much as against the specific terms of union which had been embodied in the Quebec Resolutions. These, they held, would mean increased taxes, higher tariffs, Canadian competition in the provincial market, and loss of local monopolies. Some did not stress the positive evils of Confederation so much as doubt the benefits that would accrue from it. The most influential representatives of the commercial interest, particularly in the southern part of the province,

were intent upon pursuing a project of a different nature, that of fostering trade with the United States by linking New Brunswick's railway with the New England system, and this development they feared Confederation would impede.

It is clear, however, that throughout the year that followed the defeat of the Tilley government, new circumstances arose which rendered several of the grounds of opposition to union no longer tenable. The decline of provincial debentures in the English market and the probability of a decrease in the public revenue prevented the government from extending their railway westward from Saint John to the American border as a government work, and when the task of construction was offered to a private company, Anglin, who had been a tower of strength, resigned. When the government's inability to complete the railway was linked with the failure of the Reciprocity negotiations the prospect for increased trade with the United States dwindled, and Wilmot followed Anglin out of the councils of the government to become later a Father of Confederation.

By contrast with Wilmot, other leaders, like Cudlip, persisted in their opposition to Confederation either in the hope of a renewal of the Reciprocity negotiations and the successful completion of the railway, or in the belief that even without these advantages the interests with which they were identified would be better off under existing conditions than if the province were merged in a larger union. The latter continued to find support among the Roman Catholic element, for nothing seems to have occurred in the interval to alter the policy of the Church. Furthermore the Quebec Resolutions remained the basis for the proposed union and the objections which had been levelled against them in the previous year were still in 1866 regarded by many as valid. Such considerations help to explain in part the remarkable persistence of opposition in spite of loss of government personnel and support in the face of deteriorating conditions. In this connection it will be recalled that Smith still commanded a majority in the Legislative Assembly at the time of his forced resignation from the premiership in April, 1866. Up to that time neither he nor his "anti" majority appear to have been sufficiently impressed by the declared wishes of the British government to change their policy on the union question.

Space does not permit a full examination of the reaction of the province to British policy, nor of the complex attitude of Smith himself in the light of the altered circumstances. All that

can be said here is that, although privately persuaded of the difficulty of following his original party line, and under constant pressure from the Governor to adopt a policy favourable to union, he continued to adhere publicly to his "anti" position. This divergence between private opinion and public profession prevented Smith from giving effective leadership to those forces which, in the early months of 1866, still continued to resist the union of the provinces. Smith's hesitating and uncertain course must therefore be added to those factors already considered as having weakened the anti-Confederation position during the period under consideration, and which prepared the way for the later intensification of the appeal to support union on the ground of loyalty to the British connection. This, conjoined with the exaggerated menace of Fenian invasion and the persuasive power of Canadian campaign funds, carried New Brunswick into Confederation.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THAT RUMOUR OF RUSSIAN INTRIGUE IN 1837

IN the December, 1937, issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW appeared a short article in which the author, Mr. L. S. Stavrianos, dismissed as baseless, "The Rumour of Russian Intrigue in the Rebellion of 1837." The conclusions there stated were founded entirely on the study of Canadian and United States sources. No mention was made of the references to this matter contained in F. A. Golder's excellent *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (Washington, 1917).

It is now possible to add to this circumstantial account evidence from the only reliable source, the archives of the Russian Foreign Office. The documents printed below were transcribed in 1939, after several years' delay, from the originals in the Central Archive Administration, Moscow, by the officials of the Archives. So far as I know, the typewritten transcripts now in my possession are the only copies in North America.

The word "intrigue" admits of various definitions, but the first of the documents shows that Bodisco, the Russian Minister in Washington, at least conferred with Papineau, Nelson, and O'Sullivan. Perhaps Bodisco at first toyed with the idea of aiding the rebellion, and then, rightly surmised that Nesselrode would disapprove of an act so clearly in violation of international law and comity. His account is so self-righteous that one is led to believe that he was trying to recover himself from a dangerous *faux pas*. After the receipt of Nesselrode's reproof, Bodisco was not further involved.

Nesselrode's admonitions to Bodisco were repeated in a letter (K. 217, No. 2024) dated December 20, 1839.

THOMAS H. LE DUC

Hamilton College.

[From the Foreign Office Records, Central Archive Administration, Moscow. The Minister at Washington to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode.]

K. 217
No. 7482

Le 17/29 décembre 1838

Monsieur le Comte,

... [Account of a reception at the legation in honor of the Emperor's anniversary.]

Le rédacteur de la "Revue Democratique" de Washington s'est présenté chez moi le 9 décembre, muni d'un billet très pressant dans lequel Monsieur Gilpin, confident intime du président, me demande d'accueillir Monsieur O'Sullivan, son

ami, qui avait à me parler d'affaires. Après quelques phrases préparatoires, Monsieur O'Sullivan me dit: qu'il était très lié avec M. Papineau et le docteur Nelson et qu'il venait de leur part pour me demander si je voudrais leur permettre de se présenter chez moi. Je répondis de suite à Monsieur O'Sullivan que: "L'Angleterre avait, il est vrai, partout encouragé et protégé la rébellion et les rebelles, et que comme il l'avait observé, elle méritait qu'on lui fit subir la loi du talion; mais, lui dis-je, la Russie ne suivra jamais un mauvais exemple. Le gouvernement impérial est trop haut placé pour descendre à une combinaison quelconque qui ne serait pas de nature à être hautement avoué. Nous sommes en paix avec l'Angleterre; participer à ses démêles avec le Canada serait tenir une conduite que nous avons hautement désapprouvée ailleurs. Si après cette déclaration bien explicite, MM Papineau et Nelson ont encore quelque envie de me voir, je suis chez moi tous les matins et il y aurait de l'affectation de ma part à ne pas les recevoir." Ils me témoignèrent qu'ils étaient très sensibles à la bonté que j'avais dit la veille à Monsieur O'Sullivan. Monsieur Papineau, qui a un extérieur très prévenant et qui manie l'anglais et le français avec une égale facilité, m'a fait un historique très animé de l'oppression systématique du Bas Canada et du rôle auquel lui et Nelson avaient pour ainsi dire, été forcés par la marche des événements et la morgue anglaise, qui selon lui, était à la longue, de toutes les tortures la plus insupportable. Il a déploré le sang déjà répandu et m'a dit avec un grand accent de conviction, que le gouvernement anglais dans le Bas Canada, était désormais impossible sans la présence d'une armée, et qu'une population de plus de 600,000 Canadiens d'origine française, avait voué une haine implacable aux Anglais. Il m'a paru que Papineau et Nelson n'avaient pas de relations établies avec les révolutionnaires français, mais qu'ils comptaient beaucoup sur les sympathies américaines, comme bien plus efficaces. Monsieur Papineau a dit entr'autres: "à aucune époque précédente les Etats-Unis n'ont été aussi faibles qu'en ce moment. Les forces des deux partis se balancent de si près, qu'ils se paralysent mutuellement, et toute leur attention est entièrement absorbée par cette lutte intérieure, qui durera jusqu'à l'élection du Président. Nous sommes venus à Washington," a continué Papineau, "pour observer. Nous ne comptons nous attacher à aucun parti, mais nous travaillerons individuellement les sénateurs et les membres du Congrès. Nous ferons des prosélytes à mesure que nous en trouverons l'occasion, et nous avons plus de chances pour que contre. Je me suis opposé et je suis étranger aux dernières attaques partielles qui ont eu lieu dans le Haut-Canada. Toutes ces fausses démarches ont fait plus de mal que de bien à notre cause." M. Papineau a continué pendant quelque temps à développer ses espérances et m'a dit, en me remerciant encore une fois de l'avoir admis chez moi, "qu'en politique le plus souvent la générosité ne faisait que des ingrats."

Le docteur Nelson n'a pris part à la conversation que pour me dire qu'il avait commandé à St. Charles, et s'il avait été mieux soutenu alors, que les affaires dans le Canada auraient à présent un tout autre aspect. Il a dit entr'autres: "les Anglais en sont en ce moment au Canada à n'avoir plus confiance en personne—jugez si cela peut durer."

Voilà, Monsieur le comte, un résumé aussi exact que ma mémoire a pu me le fournir, de mon entrevue avec ces deux individus. J'ai cru devoir en consigner les détails dans ma correspondance non-officielle avec votre excellence. J'ai traité ces Messieurs avec politesse; je crois toutefois qu'ils ne reviendront plus.

J'ai l'honneur d'être etc. . .

BODISCO

[The Foreign Secretary to the Minister in Washington.]

K. 217

le 21 février 1839

No. 1589

En prenant connaissance des rapports officiels que vous m'avez adressé jusqu'à présent, je me félicitais de n'y trouver que des motifs de rendre justice à votre zèle pour le service, comme au talent et à l'esprit d'observation qui vous distinguent. Vous jugerez donc, Monsieur, de la pénible surprise que j'ai dû éprouver à la lecture de votre lettre particulière du 17/29 décembre, qui rend compte de votre entrevue avec les Srs. Papineau et Nelson. En admettant chez vous ces coryphées de la rébellion canadienne, en écoutant même leurs confidences, vous n'avez pas, je regrette de le dire, suffisamment consulté les devoirs de votre poste et les égards qu'il vous impose envers une Puissance amie de la Russie. Le gouvernement impérial est trop haut placé pour descendre à une combinaison quelconque, qui ne serait pas de nature à être hautement avouée. Nous sommes en paix avec l'Angleterre; participer à ses démêlés avec le Canada, serait tenir une conduite que nous avons hautement désapprouvée ailleurs.

Rien de plus correct, Monsieur, que ce langage, que vous avez tenu à Monsieur O'Sullivan. Mais la faveur, que le Ministre de Russie accorde aux principaux instigateurs des troubles du Canada, en leur permettant de se présenter chez lui, ne peut-elle pas leur faire croire, que la Russie ne serait pas éloignée de favoriser leurs coupables projets? ne doit-elle pas fournir un excellent argument à ceux, qui travaillent sans relâche à calomnier les intentions du Cabinet impérial, et qui cherchent à le brouiller avec le Cabinet anglais? ne doit-elle pas ébranler les convictions de ceux-là même, qui croient à la sincérité de notre politique désintéressée? Voilà, Monsieur, des considérations, qui auraient dû vous empêcher de dévier, même momentanément, d'une ligne de conduite que vous avez si sagement suivie jusqu'ici. Il est possible sans doute, que Lord Palmerston ne ferme sa porte ni à Adam Czartoryski, ni aux autres chefs de la propagande polonaise, qui conspirent ouvertement contre le gouvernement impérial. Nous savons même que c'est à la faveur de passeports anglais, que les agents de cette propagande voyagent sur le continent et ourdissent les fils de leurs menées révolutionnaires. "Mais," vous l'avez dit, "la Russie ne suivra jamais un mauvais exemple," et par conséquent il importe d'éviter soigneusement tout ce qui pourrait faire supposer le contraire.

Je n'ai pas pu me dispenser, Monsieur, de vous faire connaître toute mon opinion à cet égard, afin de vous avertir à temps, de la fausse direction que vous avez pu prendre. En m'acquittant de cette tâche, je vous offre une nouvelle preuve de l'intérêt que vous m'avez toujours inspiré et qu'un moment d'erreur ne saurait affaiblir.

Recevez etc. . .

[Endorsed in Russian:]

"Seen by Nicholas I

'So be it' "

NESSELRODE

REVIEW ARTICLES

RECENT BOOKS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN ARCTIC

IN its reviews and bibliographies, the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has for a number of years followed closely the writing on the Canadian North, since the development of this region, although it has been a matter of contemporary interest, has also been of the greatest historical significance for Canada. Before 1934, books on the subject were reviewed separately; but beginning in that year the writing has been so extensive as to require treatment in a series of review articles. The review articles prior to the one here printed appeared in the following issues: volume XV, September, 1934; XVI, June, December, 1935; XVII, June, December, 1936; XIX, June, 1938; XX, March, 1939; XXI, June, 1940; XXII, June, 1941. Taken together these articles provide a survey of a body of historical literature whose importance is rapidly increasing. In all about one hundred and thirty books have been reviewed in these articles in the past nine years. The literature of the Arctic has been profoundly affected by the outbreak of war and the intensity of interest is evident in the request for access to these articles by members of the armed forces of Canada and the United States. The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is indebted to Dr. H. A. Innis for carrying on this valuable survey. For the list of books reviewed in the present article, see pp. 406-7. [EDITOR'S NOTE]

OF recent books on the Canadian Arctic, by far the most important are concerned with the western Arctic and a tribute to its accessibility and to its hospitableness. The volumes by Mr. Hanson and Mr. Finnie pretend a greater range but they are primarily concerned with this region.

A detailed chronology of the exploration and work of Mr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson has long been an urgent need, and *Stefansson: Prophet of the North* by Earl Parker Hanson goes far in meeting it. The map on pages 128-9 provides a detailed picture of his travels and the book gives a running comment together with a discussion of his writings. Omission of a detailed bibliography is inexcusable and points to major defects of the book. Tribute is paid to the work of Mr. D. M. Le Bourdais in the preface and it appears that Mr. Hanson has taken over his material and hurriedly produced a book. For this we must be grateful.

For the critical student of Mr. Stefansson's work, rather than for the enthusiast, the volume has little to offer. It makes no pretence at a balanced criticism of the numerous controversies in which Mr. Stefansson has been engaged and in which he has defended himself with great skill. The work is a reflection of the limitations of Mr. Stefansson, indeed it accentuates those limitations, in supporting his effective statements of his case. The close student is compelled to make a more careful and extensive analysis. Mr. Stefansson has been amazingly successful as an explorer following out his own plans and describing those plans and their results. He has not been successful, if one may judge from the evidence, in co-operating with others, and he has been rather too apt to lay the blame for all failures of co-operation on others than himself. His exploration work has been singular in the success with which he has turned difficulties into triumphs chiefly by evading them. The failure of the Leffingwell expedition gave Mr. Stefansson ample time to study Eskimo life. He left the *Karluk* before it was caught in the ice and made a successful trip north across the ice to Banks Land. He did important work with Dr. Rudolph Martin Anderson, but has taken what would appear to be unnecessary

trouble in making ungracious attacks on him. Mr. Hanson gives us little appreciation of the very important work of the Canadian Arctic expedition in which Mr. Stefansson had little part. An account of the reindeer experiment in Baffin Land has been given and others are blamed for its failure, but there is no reference to the lack of planning over a long period essential to its success. Whatever may be said of the Wrangell Island expedition, the tragedy was in part due to inadequate planning. Mr. Stefansson succeeded brilliantly when left to his own initiative, but failed lamentably in handling large-scale projects requiring organization, discipline, and tact. The brilliance with which his important successes have been exploited only brings to clearer light his limitations. A balanced study is needed not only of his work, but of the conditions under which he carried it out. He was largely concerned with the Canadian western Arctic, and has had very little experience of the much more difficult conditions of the eastern Arctic. We have no picture from his work of the unfriendly portions of the Arctic; but are shown, rather, the more hospitable regions such as have been referred to in lighter vein as the banana belt. Mr. Hanson has made no effort to present a balanced account.

Mr. Richard Finnie has been influenced appreciably by the Stefansson school, shown notably in his attack on the Ontario public school text-book. He also has been more familiar with the western Arctic. As a biography of Stefansson has been needed, so has a general popular account of the Arctic. In both works haste has been evident, but Mr. Finnie in his *Canada Moves North* has written a far more competent book and has had a wide background of experience with the Arctic. There are, however, exasperating omissions and a most inadequate bibliography. He follows the general arguments of his earlier books, notably *Lure of the North* (Philadelphia, 1940, reviewed C.H.R., XXII, 190-1), in his criticism of the work of the missionaries, and adds an important note on the unfortunate effects of the dissolution of the Northwest Territories and Yukon branch in 1931. The general scope of the volume is indicated in chapters on geography, exploration, fur trade, missions, administration, transportation and communications, minerals, farming and stock raising, tourists, civilization, and the reflection of the Arctic in literature and the arts. There are valuable maps and photographs. The book can be recommended wholeheartedly but at the same time we may plead that Mr. Finnie, since Mr. Stefansson will not undertake it, should present us with a detailed authoritative study of the Canadian Arctic comparable to the work of Taracouzio on Russia (*Soviets in the Arctic*, New York, 1938, reviewed C.H.R., XX, 48).

The author of *Kabloona* (reviewed C.H.R., XXII, 191), Gontran de Poncins, has written a small pamphlet, *Arctic Christmas*, to be sent as a Christmas greeting to his friends and the friends of his publishers. It has the drawings and the style of *Kabloona*. The Christmas was spent with Mr. W. H. Gibson in King William Land, and the booklet brings sad memories of the fatal aeroplane accident in which Mr. Gibson lost his life early in 1942. He was an able trader and had done much to unravel the mysteries of the Franklin expedition (see *Sir John Franklin's Last Voyage*, reviewed C.H.R., XIX, 192-3).

Les Problèmes politiques du Nord Canadien by Yvon Bériault is a doctoral thesis of the University of Ottawa. It is a discussion of the theory of the sector and the theory of occupation as a basis of Canadian claims to the Arctic Archipelago, with detailed reference to the actual steps in occupation taken by the Canadian government. There is a useful bibliography and a map. The subject has been by no means exhaustively treated but a useful summary of various aspects of the problem is provided.

On the eastern Arctic the most interesting book is that of A. C. Twomey and Nigel Herrick, *Needle to the North: The Story of an Expedition to Ungava and the Belcher Islands*. It invites comparison with Robert J. Flaherty, *My Eskimo Friends* (New York, 1924), the last important book on the Belcher Islands. The photographs, though excellent, fall below the high standard of that book. Since it represents an account of an ornithologist on the expedition of the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh in 1938, it will be compared with George Milssch Sutton's *Eskimo Year: A Naturalist's Adventures in the Far North* (reviewed C.H.R., XVI, 197-8). The account begins with a flight by plane from Moose Factory to Great Whale River and describes the trip along the coast to Richmond Gulf, Clear Water Lake, and Lower Seal Lake where they were successful in capturing a fresh-water seal. After returning to Great Whale River they crossed over on the ice bridge to the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Tukarak on Belcher Islands. During the summer they went by boat to the Sleepers and returned by Twin Islands to Moose Factory. The accounts of Indians and Eskimos, bird life and animal life are interesting and valuable, particularly as the expedition was concerned with an area marginal to the barren grounds and the forests, to Eskimo and Indians.

The Land of the Good Shadows: The Life Story of Anauta, an Eskimo Woman by H. C. Washburne and Anauta is an autobiography of a half-breed Eskimo, the wife of William Ford and the daughter of George Ford, one of the innumerable Fords of the Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Hudson Bay region. She was born at Cheketaluk, a trading post in Baffin Land, and moved with her parents to Nachvak on the Labrador coast at an early age. Later she returned to a trading post in Baffin Land with her husband and then to Wolstenholme where he was drowned in 1913. After his death she went to Newfoundland and spent some time at Fogo, St. Johns, St. Anthony, and Twillingate. From Newfoundland she went to Halifax, Montreal, and Indianapolis where she married Mr. Blackmore. She worked in a Prest-o-lite factory for five years and then started on a lecture tour. Sir Wilfred Grenfell in his foreword properly calls the volume "unique." It includes numerous tales of Eskimo life, but on the whole is a straightforward account of the life of a half-breed girl in the Labrador-Baffin Land region. There are references to Mrs. Hubbard's journey and to a visit to Fort Chimo. To the anthropologist it is of particular importance in suggesting the effects of the impact of modern industrialism on more primitive civilization. It is reminiscent of the novel by Elliott Merrick, *Frost and Fire* (reviewed C.H.R., XXI, 201).

Mr. Merrick has written another work on the Labrador following his earlier book, *True North* (reviewed C.H.R., XV, 320). *Northern Nurse* is properly the account of his wife's experiences as a nurse in the Labrador. She was stationed at Indian Harbour under Doctor H. C. Padden and at North West River. The book is an excellent account of hospital work in the region and an important contribution to the literature of the Grenfell mission. Members of the medical profession will find it of particular interest. Literature on the eastern Arctic is still largely concerned with expeditions, the Labrador, and unique records.

Freighter Adventures by Elsie W. Freitag includes an account of a trip from New York to St. John and from St. John to Hopedale and return, including a side-trip on Northwest River on the *Kyle* beginning on July 7, 1939, and returning early in August. The book is chiefly excerpts from a diary "so that my friends might enjoy a few hours travelling with me" with the sort of information a tourist notes down. It will be of interest to anyone planning to take the trip. Kathrene

Pinkerton's *Two Ends to Our Shoe String* describes the roving life of a family of writers. After marriage to Robert Pinkerton in 1911, she lived in a cabin somewhere in the north part of Eastern Canada (the secrecy of exact location is difficult to understand) for five years. Then came a winter at a Hudson's Bay Company post at Windigo Lake and brief sojourns in Colorado, New Mexico, California, and Washington. Finally there is a boat trip up the Pacific Coast to southern Alaska. Her husband is the author of a history of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The most important and timely book on the eastern Arctic region is *Greenland* by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. It begins with a chapter on geography and continues with chapters on prehistoric discoveries by the Eskimo from the western Arctic and on the voyage of Pythéas, in which the conclusions of his book *Ultima Thule* (reviewed C.H.R., XXII, 187) are recapitulated without change and in spite of criticisms. Possible Irish voyages to Iceland, Greenland and other northern islands are described and then voyages from Iceland to Greenland and Greenland to North America. The author brings together the available evidence on the settlement and development of the colony in Greenland and on its decline and disappearance, including a translation of the sagas of Erik the Red and Einar Sokkason. Finally an account is given of the revival of contacts with Greenland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its resettlement and exploration, its administration and development and its strategic importance. There is a useful bibliography and end maps. We are grateful to the author for this compilation though its value is marred by evidences of haste.

On the Pacific coast Alfred Wolfe's *In Alaskan Waters* is a book of first importance, and with it the Caxton Press has made another valuable contribution in the field in which they have done so much. It is a very valuable supplement to W. A. Carrothers, *The British Columbia Fisheries* (Toronto, 1941) and Gregory and Barnes, *North Pacific Fisheries: With Special Reference to Alaska Salmon* (both reviewed C.H.R., XXIII, 208-9). It is a detailed, accurate description of the life of a fisherman chiefly in the halibut fishery, but also in the salmon fishery with gill nets in the big year 1913 and with the purse seine in 1917. Labour shifted from halibut to salmon depending on the prospects of the large runs every fourth year. The fishermen moved steadily north following a declining halibut fishery from Seattle to Petersburg and Ketchikan in Alaska. The lower American tariff in 1913 and completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific to Prince Rupert hastened the northward movement. The long line system was introduced from the North Sea in 1914. There is an account of the strike between the Deep Sea Fishermen's Union and the Vessel Owners' Association, and of the difficulties of a co-operative fish distributing company from 1919 to 1921. Valuable descriptions of technology, wage systems, and marketing are supplemented by numerous photographs. Chapter x has a detailed account of the *Sophia* disaster in October, 1918.

Personal Exposures by Rex Beach is an autobiographical account of a novelist who has seen much of life. He went to Nome apparently in 1900; and, in an attempt to go up the Yukon to the Klondike, was stopped by the ice and compelled to spend the next two winters in Rampart City. He participated in stampedes and was engaged in cutting wood for steamboats. After leaving Alaska he returned with a prospect of participating in the rush on the Kuskokwim but stopped at Bristol Bay. His novel *The Spoilers* (New York, 1907), was written for *McClures Magazine* as part of the series of muckraking articles dealing with the Nome scandals, and the *Silver Horde* (New York, 1909) followed the visit to the canneries

at Bristol Bay. There is an excellent description of the volcanic explosions of Mt. Katmai in 1912. The book is made up of stories he never wrote and includes references to Tex Rickard and various prize fights, life at Colon during the construction of the Panama Canal, the Texas oil rush, the Authors' League of America, a moving picture company sold to Goldwyn Pictures, Will Rogers's start in the movies, M. J. H. Heney, railway contractor of the White Pass and Yukon Railway and of the railway from Cordova up the Copper River, the Matanuska colony, the passing of the Dimond Bill to encourage mining activity in Alaska, and numerous criticisms on the age-old subject of marketing farm products.

Alaska Holiday by Miss Willoughby begins with an extended account of a visit to Kodiak and includes a description of life as seen through the eyes of women tourists, with notes on various points of interest. It is followed by chapters on being lost in Alaska, on cemeteries, Indian and white, at Skagway and elsewhere, on the lighthouse at Cape Sacrihef on Unimak Island, the fur-seal fisheries on the Pribilof Islands, the life of a settler in Matanuska valley and reminiscences of Klondyke Kate (Mrs. John Matson) of life in Dawson in 1900. The last two articles are of particular interest and value. Alaska continues to provide a rich tourist literature and volumes of reminiscences.

The outbreak of war on the Pacific has made Alaska a centre of interest. Jean Potter in *Alaska Under Arms* has written a readable account of its strategic importance as an approach to Asia and describes the delays in development of fortifications and in turn the haste with which bases have been built and arrangements made for transportation and communication facilities, notably aeroplanes and roads and radio. There are accounts of economic resources, population, and administration. An index and maps increase the value of a book concerned with recent and important developments. It has the advantages and disadvantages of a publication prepared by the staff of *Fortune*, of which the author is a member. The volumes by Miss Potter and Miss Willoughby supplement those by Miss I. W. Hutchison (reviewed C.H.R., XVI, 196, 438; XIX, 191).

The historical study, *Lord of Alaska: Baranov and the Russian Adventure*, by Hector Chevigny, is a biography with particular emphasis on the trading activities of Russia in the years from 1790 to 1819. It is an excellent account of the period of expansion and consolidation of Russian influence. There are tales of difficulties with Indians, missionaries, Company administration, and government. Of particular interest is the description of trading activities of competitors from other nationalities. For the first time we have an exhaustive treatment of the work of a dominating figure in an important period. A bibliography, index, and end maps are included.

The most important addition to the literature of Alaska is the autobiography of Charles D. Brower, *Fifty Years below Zero: A Lifetime of Adventure in the Far North*. It has an introduction by Mr. Stefansson. The author joined the Pacific Whaling Company in 1884 and was stationed first at the coal regions at Corwin Bluff. He became engaged in trading with the Eskimo and in participating in their whale-hunting activities. After a trip out to San Francisco he returned to Point Barrow at the extreme northerly tip of Alaska. The account of whaling supplements those of Klengenberg (reviewed C.H.R., XIV, 71), and Bodfish (reviewed C.H.R., XVII, 433). After starting as an independent trader he was bought out by the Company in 1892 but in the following year became a partner with H. Liebes and Company of San Francisco in the Cape Smythe Whaling and

Trading Company. Lumber was brought from Harrison Bay for buildings at Point Barrow. In 1896 the Pacific Steam Whaling Company abandoned its post at that point. By 1908 steel had replaced whalebone in the manufacture of corsets and the automobile brought a decline in the use of whips. From that date he concentrated on furs and established branch stations at Wainwright and Beechey Point. The strategic location of Point Barrow gave it an important place in the exploration activities of the western Arctic. Amundsen passed it on his way out in the first voyage through the Northwest passage. We have glimpses of Stefansson, Rasmussen, and Wilkins. There are references to the Hudson's Bay Company vessels the *Lady Kindersley* and the *Bay Chimo* and of the *Karluk* of the Canadian Arctic expedition. Adventures on the ice, the effects of white civilization on the Eskimo, the coming of traders, missionaries, and doctors, the death of Will Rogers and Wylie Post are a part of the book. It is unfortunate that neither maps nor index are included.

The Time of My Life: A Frontier Doctor in Alaska, by Harry Carlos De Vighne, is a readable autobiography of an obstetrician stationed near Juneau. The author served as Secretary of the Territorial Board of Medical Examiners for twenty years. It is a supplement to *Dog Team Doctor: The Story of Dr. Romig* (reviewed C.H.R., XXII, 193).

The War Department of the United States has issued an *Arctic Manual* to supersede the volumes published in 1940. It is a short compendium of information on geography, including topography, tides and currents, climate and weather, insects, vegetation, shelter, heat and light, food and drink, clothing and personal equipment, first aid and emergency Arctic operations.

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LA VÉRENDRYE'S 1738-9 JOURNAL

I HAVE read with unusual interest the new translation, with annotations, by Dr. Henry E. Haxo, of the 1738-9 *Journal* of La Vérendrye, and also Professor O. G. Libby's Introduction to the translation.* As Mr. Libby points out, there are now four English versions of this *Journal*, the original translation, presumably by the first Dominion Archivist, Dr. Douglas Brymner, which was published in the *Report* on Canadian Archives for 1889; the translation by Dr. W. D. LeSueur, used in my *Journals and Letters of La Vérendrye*, published by the Champlain Society in 1927; the DeLand version, published in the South Dakota Collections, in 1914; and this new translation by Dr. Haxo.

As the purpose of this most recent translation is, as I understand it, to "correct many of the serious mistakes that occur in the previous translations," as well as in the transcription of the French text, and as the criticism is directed mainly at the LeSueur translation, and as Dr. LeSueur is no longer here to defend his translation, it seems to rest with me, as editor of the *Journals*, to say what little needs to be said. I should have hesitated to do so without the support and assistance of Mr. Régis Roy, of Ottawa, whose knowledge of French as used in Canada in the days of La Vérendrye is the result of years of close study. It is important to remember that the same word sometimes was used in quite different senses in Canada and in France in the first half of the eighteenth century.

It will be convenient to deal first with Dr. Haxo's translation and notes, and afterwards with Professor Libby's Introduction, and it should be said at once that some of Dr. Haxo's criticism is justified. Through some carelessness, in two different places a line was omitted in the Brymner transcription of the French text, and omitted again in the Champlain Society's transcription. Mr. Libby quite properly assumes from this that Dr. LeSueur did not make use of the original manuscript in the Canadian Archives, but relied upon the text as printed in the 1889 Archives *Report*. The same omission led to the substitution of *beaux* for *leaux*, and *puis que cela areste la marche* for *sans que cela areste la marche*, and *nous autres nous ne pouuons* for *vous autres, vous ne pouves*, and *feines* or *beechnuts* for *feines* or *beans*, and a carelessly written "7" in the original manuscript is mistaken for "4." In one case both Brymner and LeSueur appear to have been puzzled by a misspelled word in the manuscript, which reads, or appears to read, *dun enpend de long*. Brymner renders this *dun en pied de long* and LeSueur as *dun*

*"The Journals of La Vérendrye, 1738-9" (reprinted from *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, VIII (4), July, 1941, 229-71).

pied de long or "a foot long." Dr. Haxo points out that La Vérendrye evidently intended to use the French word *empan*, an old French measure equivalent to a span or nine inches. All this is very regrettable, and Dr. Haxo has done a useful service in pointing out the errors in text and translation.

Some of his other criticisms are not so well founded. He begins by translating *Découverte* as "exploration." La Vérendrye was sent not to explore the Western Sea but to discover it. He has "a few young men" for *peu de jeunes gens*, which LeSueur more correctly translates as "very few young men"; and *je leurs fit part ensuite des Nouvelles dont ils sont fort curieux* is rendered "I then told them the news of the traders, about which they are always anxious to hear." LeSueur has "I then gave them some general news regarding which they are very curious." How does Dr. Haxo know that the news had anything to do with traders?

LeSueur translates *nous ne sommes pas des enfants pour avoir deux paroles*, as "we are not children, what we say we mean." That, however, is not good enough for Dr. Haxo, who renders it "we are not children to forget easily what we have promised," which seems to be putting somewhat more into the statement than was intended. It is safer, in historical documents of this kind, to stick as closely to the literal translation as the sense will permit. In his anxiety to make the sense abundantly clear Dr. Haxo repeatedly adds, with or without brackets, explanatory phrases that may or may not be accurate, but certainly are not found in the text. For instance, when La Vérendrye is on Rainy Lake he meets a Monsoni chief, who thanks him for the news he has brought, and refers also to "the account which the old man just gave me both concerning our Father and all he has seen over there." Dr. Haxo adds the word "Quebec" in square brackets. Now "over there" might have been Montreal or Michilimakinak or Kaministiquia. There is nothing whatever to suggest that it meant Quebec.

In this same incident on Rainy Lake, the Monsoni chief says *je vais en porter la nouvelle à tous nos gens qui sont après à faire de la folle avoine*, which LeSueur translates as "I shall carry the news to all our people who are in the meadows gathering the wild oats." Dr. Haxo's version is: "I shall carry the news to all our people who are busy gathering wild rice." And he adds in a foot-note, "In the Champlain edition, p. 293, the French word '*après*' is incorrectly translated 'in the meadows.'" Which, I suggest, is absurd. Dr. LeSueur was, of course, aware that *après* did not mean "in the meadows." He was simply doing what Dr. Haxo repeatedly does, adding words intended to interpret the full meaning of the French text. LeSueur correctly translates *folle avoine* as "wild oats." If La Vérendrye had thought of it as rice he would have quoted the Indian chief as saying *riz sauvage*.

When he reached Fort St. Charles, on Lake of the Woods, La Vérendrye made arrangements for the project he had had in mind for some time, the building of a post on the Assiniboine River, and an overland expedition to a tribe of Indians some distance to the south of the Assiniboine. His curiosity had been aroused by the accounts he had received of these people, which suggested that they were civilized and might be of the white race. He says of them, *que si devant on apeloit ouachipouanne selon les monsony, Courtchouatte, Les Crix, mantanne c'est le nom de la nations*. LeSueur translates this, "who formerly were called the Ouachipouannes according to the Monsoni Indians, and Courtchouattes according to the Cree; Mandan is the proper name of the tribe." Dr. Haxo's version is, "This tribe has been referred to heretofore as Ouachipouanne, as the Monsony call them, and Courtchouatte, according to the Crees, but *Mantanne* is the [my] name of this tribe."

This is perhaps as striking an example as could be found in this paper of the danger of interpolation. The whole effect—I will not say, purpose—of interpolating the word “my” is to suggest that the name originated with La Vérendrye. He had heard somewhere of a tribe of that name, and guessed that they might be the same as the people who were known to the Crees and the Monsoni under other names. That is what one might justifiably gather from Dr. Haxo's translation. What La Vérendrye really meant is clear enough from the journals of the explorer. When this long journal was written, La Vérendrye had already come into contact with the Assiniboines, had built Fort La Reine in their country, and had travelled with some of them to the Mandan villages on the Missouri. Now, looking back over the events of his journey, he is thinking, as he writes, the Monsoni call this tribe that I have visited one name, and the Crees another, but they know them only by hearsay; their neighbours call them the Mandan, and that is their proper name.

Passing over several minor points, such as the translation of *apprendre a chasser aux assiniboiles* as “teach the Assiniboines how to take the beaver,” we find a footnote on page 249 of Dr. Haxo's translation that calls for some comment. La Vérendrye is building Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine, and makes the usual present to the local Indians, powder, ball, tobacco, axes, knives, and what in the French text is called *tranches*, and translated by LeSueur as “chisels.” Dr. Haxo has “hatchets,” and explains in his footnote: “A hammer with a cutting edge, a combination tool very useful to the Indians. See the French dictionaries by A. Haztfeld and A. Darmesteter, and by E. Littré, under the word ‘tranche.’” A *tranche* in Canada, however, was and still is a kind of chisel attached to a long pole, once in common use to cut holes in the ice for winter fishing. Mr. Régis Roy tells me that he has seen them in use.

In describing the manners and customs of the Mandans, La Vérendrye says of the native tobacco, *il est bien comme le nostre, avec cette différence qui ne le plante point et le coupe verd, mettant tout a profit, coton et les feuilles ensemble*. LeSueur translates *coton* as “stalks,” and Dr. Haxo as “blossoms.” In a footnote he says, “La Vérendrye uses the French word ‘coton’ for blossoms. There seems to be no warrant for the Brymner edition rendering it as ‘stalks’. The stalks are never used in preparing tobacco for use. This error is repeated in the Champlain edition.” Régis Roy assures me that *coton*, as used by La Vérendrye, means “stalks,” and not “blossoms.” The sense of the passage is that everything is used, stalk as well as leaf.

One of the missing lines, *vous ne savez point a qui vous vous adressez*, is translated by Dr. Haxo, “you do not seem to understand to whom you are speaking.” The literal translation is more vigorous, “you do not know to whom you are speaking.” It might almost be translated into that familiar line of *Pinafore*, “Remember what you are, and whom addressing.”

As the result, no doubt, of a slight oversight, Dr. Haxo translates *le six au matin* as “at six o'clock on the morning of the sixth”—a superabundance of sixes. And, oddly enough, he points out almost the same error on the part of Dr. LeSueur, shortly afterwards.

Through what one can only suppose to be an excess of delicacy, Dr. Haxo, in translating La Vérendrye's description of the dress and manners of the Mandan women, omits an entire line. In this case Dr. LeSueur supplies the missing passage.

Up to the last few pages of his translation, Dr. Haxo confines his footnotes mainly to points of criticism in his own particular field of languages. His final

notes invade the field of geography, but as the points he raises are also discussed by Professor Libby in his Introduction, it will be convenient to deal with them together.

I hope it does not sound hypercritical to suggest that so well-informed a scholar as Mr. Libby should have known that the Champlain Society was not "of Montreal"; that it is the Hudson's Bay Company's post on Hudson Bay, not the Hudson Bay Company post on Hudson's Bay; and that there is nothing in the journals or letters of La Vérendrye, or anyone else, to support the statement that "he established a base at Grand Portage." The Crees are not usually described as a subdivision of the Ojibwas, although they are said to have been closely related, linguistically and otherwise. Fort Rouge was never in the same class as Fort St. Charles, Fort La Reine and Fort Maurepas. I do not think it is ever mentioned by name in La Vérendrye's journals, though it does appear on some of the maps.

The danger, already suggested, of interpolating explanatory matter into the translation of a French journal is emphasized by Mr. Libby's use of the interpolation. In his Introduction he says of La Vérendrye, "at Fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods, he records in his journal that he has decided to call this earth lodge people the *Mantannes* and by that name they are known throughout the remainder of his journal." Here you have two substantial steps in the growth of a rumour. First the interpolation; then the interpretation. And from now on it is assumed that there is no real connection between the name *Mantannes* or Mandans and the actual tribe visited by La Vérendrye.

I do not think it would serve any useful purpose to debate with Mr. Libby the question whether the tribe visited by La Vérendrye on the Missouri, known to him as the Mandans, and known to their neighbours the Assiniboines as the Mandans, were in reality the Mandans, or, on the other hand, the Hidatsa. Nor, indeed, do I think that it greatly matters. La Vérendrye's achievement will be no less whichever tribe happened to be the one he visited.

However, some of Mr. Libby's very positive assumptions do seem to be based upon a rather insecure foundation. One doubts, for instance, the value of the evidence of living Indians as to conditions that prevailed over two centuries ago. Nor is too much reliance to be placed on the geographical accuracy of the La Vérendrye maps. Mr. Libby's use of the maps, portions of which are reproduced in his paper, to prove that the first Indian village visited by the explorer, and called by him a Mandan village, could not have been a Mandan village because the latitude was nowhere near the known position of any of the Mandan villages in 1738, might be more convincing if any reliance could be placed on the accuracy of the latitude, where any is actually shown on the La Vérendrye maps.

As a matter of fact, those of the maps reproduced in the *La Vérendrye Journals* that are original maps of the explorer, show neither latitude nor longitude. Of the two, parts of which are reproduced in Mr. Libby's paper, one was drawn by La Jemeraye, and the other is from a printed map by Philippe Buache, in 1754. If this La Jemeraye was the nephew of the explorer, additions must have been made to the map after his death, as it shows Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine, built in 1738, two years after the death of La Jemeraye. These two maps, according to Mr. Libby, "have an important bearing on the identification of the earth lodge villages described by La Vérendrye in his journal." They may have, but it will first of all be necessary to reconcile the latitude of the maps with the latitude of the journal; and in estimating the value of the latter it may be well to bear in mind that there is little evidence as to the ability of La Vérendrye's son to fix the true latitude of the Mandan village.

In a footnote to page 264 of the paper, Dr. Haxo says: "On June 29, 1917, President Wilson, by formal proclamation, created the Vérendrye National Monument at this point [apparently the second village, visited by the son of La Vérendrye] . . . A bronze plate set in a granite boulder marks this historic spot as the termination of the La Vérendrye expedition of 1738-39, the first recorded visit of white men to what is now North Dakota." It will not, I hope, seem discourteous to either the late President Wilson or his local advisers to suggest that neither the proclamation nor the bronze plate necessarily mark the farthest point reached by the expedition of 1738-9.

On the following page Dr. Haxo has another footnote, in which he says that the latitude mentioned in the *Journal* "makes it certain that the fortified earth lodge village of the *Mantannes*, where La Vérendrye stayed, was located not far from the present site of the city of Minot. The distance from Ft La Reine to this village is given in the journal as one hundred twenty leagues, west southwest." And Mr. Libby, in his Introduction, speaking of the distance, says that La Vérendrye "sets it down as 120 leagues." As a matter of fact the explorer, a little more cautious than his interpreters, says that "it may be 120 leagues." His Indian guide, by his wandering course, added 50 or 60 leagues to the length of the journey, and 22 more leagues were needed to visit an Assiniboine village, with the result that 46 days were used in covering a distance that might easily have been done in 16 or 20. So says La Vérendrye.

Now the question arises, what would these 120 leagues be in modern miles? And here I find myself in an embarrassing position. Mr. Libby quotes a statement I made in editing the journals to the effect that the French league of La Vérendrye's day was the equivalent of 2.42 miles. It is fifteen years or more since the work was done, and I am sorry to say that I have completely forgotten where I got the information. In any event, I am now told by one whose special knowledge I am bound to respect that the old French league was 3 miles. This, of course, means that the distance between Fort La Reine and the Mandan village, if La Vérendrye was right in his estimate, was 360 miles instead of 290 miles.

Returning to Dr. Haxo's note, he puts the position of the Mandan village near Minot, and Minot is at the foot of the big bend of the Souris river, in North Dakota. On the maps reproduced in part in the paper, the Souris clearly is that part of the Assiniboine river named *R. St. Charles* on the maps, while the upper waters of the main stream are called *R. St. Pierre*. The route of the explorer is shown from Fort La Reine up the Assiniboine and up the eastern side of the big bend of the Souris to a point not very far from the site of Minot, and from there across the prairies to the Mandan villages on the Missouri. It is conceivable that the Assiniboine village might have been near Minot, but certainly neither of the maps upon which Mr. Libby and Dr. Haxo rely warrant the conclusion that the Mandan village could have been at or near the southernmost point of the Souris.

In Dr. Haxo's final footnote, on the last page of the paper, he refers to the statement—one that has puzzled all students of La Vérendrye—that the explorer had found a river flowing to the west, *J'ay decouvert ces jours icy une riviere qui descend dans l'ouest*. Dr. Haxo translates: "I discovered recently a river flowing to the west." Dr. LeSueur's version was: "I discovered a few days ago a river flowing west," and Dr. Haxo adds the comment, "There seems to be nothing to warrant such a rendering of the French text." And that leaves one wondering, as Alice did in Wonderland, which is Tweedledum and which Tweedledee.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Zones of International Friction: The Great Lakes Frontier, Canada, the West Indies, India, 1748-1754. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. (The British Empire before the American Revolution, V.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xlviii, 352, lix. (\$5.00)

WHAT other historian on this continent is producing a *magnum opus* to compare in scope with that of Professor Gipson? His sustained effort recalls the spacious days of a bygone age when it was not uncommon for a whole shelf of consecutive volumes to come from a single historical pen, and this reminder of the great contrast in historical scholarship between those times and these raises some disturbing thoughts. Has not the change in fashion to a mechanical scholarship, which grinds out enormous quantities of little isolated monographs and turns out a bigger job only by assembling ill-fitting spare parts from many different machines, reflected a certain degeneracy in our craft? Have we lost the vision to conceive, the courage to tackle, the patience to continue, and the capacity to execute work on the grand old scale? To retort that the public would not read it is like crying sour grapes. The publishers know better. Witness the many cheap editions of the classic historians, of whom Halévy, in the Pelican series, is now one. The public reads them because they were written to be read, which the great bulk of our historical output has not been. It has been unfinished in both style and substance.

Professor Gipson, who is personally as modest as his work is ambitious, would be the last to claim a style such as has distinguished some of the classics, but there is no denying that his writing has literary quality. It flows with an easy grace, though sometimes it runs too long without reaching a period; and it occasionally develops a positive beauty, particularly in descriptive passages that are reminiscent of Parkman. The substance is equally good, for the thoroughness of his scholarship is generally impressive and rarely oppressive. In addition to using the extensive literature of secondary works on his subject, he has drawn deeply from the primary sources, manuscript as well as printed; and he has digested the mountain of stuff he collected. Of his promised dozen volumes on the British Empire before the American Revolution, this is the fifth to be delivered. The first three, published in 1936 (reviewed in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVIII, 1937, 330-1), presented a static view of the old Empire in the middle of the eighteenth century. The fourth, which appeared in 1939 (reviewed *C.H.R.*, XXI, 1940, 78-9), began what this completes—a study of the dynamic forces that hurled the Empire against its great rival in the world-shaking Seven Years' War.

These two volumes should be read together, and it seems a little unfortunate that they did not come out together, for those who read this one some years after the other are apt to get the impression that it is disjointed. The account of the growing international friction in North America, presented in geographical sequence commencing with the Georgia-Florida frontier and following through the great arc of the interior to Acadia, fills the previous volume and more than the first half of this. The break between them comes where, it may be said, there should be no break at all, for it severs the discussion of the Ohio

Valley from the treatment of Canada and the Great Lakes region. In this volume there is a big jump from Acadia to the "neutral" islands of the Caribbean, where minor trouble was brewing; and then there is a mighty leap around the globe to the nascent and nasty imperial conflict in India. The remaining two chapters, however, restore the shaken sense of unity by tying things together in the diplomatic story and, finally, by presenting a rather penetrating analysis of the two empires and their drifting into war.

Because Canada was the main seat of French power in the New World, this book begins with a description of the colony as it was during the last short period of peace under French rule; and it would not be easy for a Canadian versed in the history of his own country to improve upon this description without enlarging the scale, which would then be out of proportion to the rest of the work. One may criticize this account for making only incidental reference to the Church, which formed such a large part of the life of the colony; for ignoring the local administration, in which the captain of militia played an important and interesting role; and for overlooking Dr. Gustave Lanctot's study of the general administration (*L'Administration de la Nouvelle France: L'Administration Générale*, Paris, 1929, reviewed C.H.R., XI, 1930, 151). A much smaller blemish is the omission of the north-shore seal fishery from the analysis of the commerce of Canada. But if these few things have been missed, there is ample compensation in the whole approach, for this French colony is viewed with eyes that have thoroughly explored the contemporary English colonies. The result is sometimes striking. For example, Quebec as here portrayed stands out in bold relief against this broader New World background—"a city of gracious and abundant living" with its highly cultivated society and its impressive architectural structures, one of them "perhaps the largest and finest building in all North America."

Turning from this survey of the settled portion of the country we are carried into the interior with the French penetration of the Great Lakes region and made to wrestle with the problems of the French fur trade, on which new material is presented. Most serious was the growing competition of the English from the time of their establishment at Oswego. As a consequence of the difference between England and France in industrial and commercial development, these intruding rivals had a decisive advantage. They offered more and better goods for the same furs. Thus it was that "the English, while avoiding the great expense of policing the Great Lakes and dependent parts, were able at the same time to secure perhaps the cream of the trade of those regions," and of the fur harvest actually gathered by Canadian traders and merchants more than half seems to have found its illicit way down the Hudson drain. It was obvious to the French that if this condition were allowed to continue their empire over the interior was doomed, and they desperately sought to save it by raising a barrier in the Iroquois confederacy, whose friendship was equally vital to the English colonies. The resultant tug-of-war gradually tore the Six Nations apart. The Mohawks could not be pulled away from their old attachment, though it was subjected to considerable strain; nor could they hold the other tribes from going over to the French, thereby linking the Ohio more securely to the St. Lawrence.

The Albany Congress, which met to deal with the ominous situation in the rear of the English colonies, has never before received the attention it deserves. The two chapters devoted to it would alone make this book worth while. The

Congress was called by New York at the behest of the home government to negotiate a general treaty with the red men, but the result left much to be desired. New York had skeletons in her cupboard, Pennsylvania was arranging a separate purchase of an immense tract of western land, and Virginia declined the invitation because she was having her own little conference with the Indians of the Ohio Valley.

The Congress was more successful in mapping government policies for the interior in a document entitled "Representation on the Present State of the Colonies." It has been obscured by the famous "Plan of Union" formulated by the same body, and Professor Gipson wisely observes that it should "not be ignored in any analysis of the evolution of British colonial policy." It definitely anticipated the subsequent establishment of Indian superintendencies by the British government. It also clearly foreshadowed the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the fundamental Northwest Ordinance of 1787, providing as it did for the confinement of the old colonies to the Proclamation Line, the creation of a vast Indian reserve in the heart of the continent, and the eventual encroachment upon it by the regularized planting of new trans-Appalachian colonies.

The "Plan of Union" was a bold and worthy venture. None of the delegates, save those from Massachusetts, were authorized even to discuss the question, but they could not avoid it. When it was raised, the Congress unanimously declared that a union of all the colonies was an urgent necessity. How could it be achieved? Already Franklin had discarded his earlier idea of doing it by intercolonial agreement, and the rest concurred in his view that it would have to be done by Act of Parliament. Thereupon the Congress formally resolved to draw up a plan to be implemented by legislation in London.

The significance of this decision of the Albany Congress seems to have escaped most students of the constitutional history of the old British Empire. Granting that the commissioners had no power to bind the colonies, outside, possibly, Massachusetts Bay, and also that the project for the union failed to be approved when later submitted to the colonial assemblies, the vote, nevertheless, represents the consensus of opinion of the most representative and politically experienced body of colonials from the majority of the thirteen colonies that ever met in conference prior to the Stamp Act Congress. It is evident that most of them believed not only that Parliament possessed the authority to alter the basic constitutional arrangements within the Empire—something that was later sweepingly denied here in America—but that it was natural and proper that Parliament should do so when circumstances so required (pp. 131-2).

Franklin's revised scheme and an anonymous one, apparently composed by Hutchinson though he never admitted it, were combined to form the plan adopted. "Whatever may have been its defects," says Professor Gipson after explaining its origin and contents, the plan

is a glowing tribute to the capacity of the commissioners who assembled at Albany to rise, at least temporarily, above local and selfish interests, to think in terms of the general welfare of the British colonies. For in many respects it goes beyond the provincialism of the Articles of Confederation of 1781 and, if it could have been carried into execution, would have doubtless served as an effective agency for grappling successfully with many of the most serious problems that soon faced the colonies in their relations both with the French and the Indians in the course of the Seven Years' War and with the mother country at its termination (p. 138).

The old story that the plan was rejected on both sides of the Atlantic, by the colonies because it would give too much power to the Crown and by the home government because it would give too much independence to the colonies, now

appears to be only half true. The colonies vindicated the judgment of the Congress. They refused to accept the plan, but at the same time they seem to have agreed that union was necessary and would have to be established by Parliament. In England, on the other hand, the Board of Trade prepared a scheme of its own about the time the Albany Congress was in session, and this London scheme was to be put into operation by the mutual consent of the colonies. When the ministry examined it they discovered serious objections, among them that it could be launched only by an Act of Parliament. Then the Board of Trade, finding its own plan unacceptable and receiving the completed one from Albany, based on this very principle, transmitted the latter for consideration. This is the action that has been rashly interpreted as a contemptuous dismissal, presumably because, at that point, it was lost from view. We do not know why it vanished in London, but Professor Gipson suggests a plausible reason.

The account of the growing tension in Acadia is good; and though it offers little that is new, which is no reflection on the thoroughness of the author's search in manuscript sources, the story here appears in its proper setting. The long chapter on diplomatic efforts to save the peace was evidently written before the appearance of Mr. Savelle's book, *The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749-63* (New Haven, Toronto, 1940), and a complimentary footnote at the end refers to some differences in conclusions.

A critical reader will notice a number of slips that might have been eliminated by another proof-reading, but none of them is serious. The volume is well equipped with plans and maps, some of which, however, have had to be reduced so much that place names are illegible. The table of contents is perhaps too extensive for convenient use; but the same cannot be said of the excellent index, though it is nearly sixty pages long. The format is fine but not a whit too fine for the quality of the book.

A. L. BURT

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Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. xx, 680. (\$4.50)

So many volumes, more or less tendentious in character, have been written about the discoverer of America that one instinctively begins to describe a new book on the same subject by comparing it with those already published. Perhaps in this case that is also the best approach, because the present study is a welcome contrast to much that has gone before.

That such a contrast was the purpose of the author is made clear in the opening sentences of the preface: "This book arose out of a desire to know exactly where Columbus sailed on his Four Voyages, and what sort of seaman he was. No previous work on the Discoverer of America answers these questions in a manner to satisfy even an amateur seafarer. Most biographies of the Admiral might well be entitled 'Columbus to the Water's Edge.' The authors either cared little about the Discoverer's career on his chosen element, or expended so much space on unprofitable speculation about his birth, character and early life that no room was left to tell where and how he sailed." Such shortcomings cannot be accounted for by any lack of evidence, since "material for the Four Voyages is both abundant and available." The fact that little of

it has been used to any advantage is blamed by Professor Morison on the circumstance that "no biographer of Columbus appears to have gone to sea in quest of light and truth." And he argues that "you cannot write a story out of these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century narratives that means anything to a modern reader, merely by studying them in a library with the aid of maps."

Emulating, therefore, "Francis Parkman, the greatest North American historian," who "followed the routes of the French explorers, camped in the primeval forest, and lived among primitive Indians," the author put to sea in ships comparable to those used by Columbus, and painstakingly retraced most of the courses known to have been covered by the great navigator himself. He believed that in Parkman's case such "field work, combined with historical imagination and a lively narrative style," had given the resultant historical volumes "a peculiar depth and vividness," and that the scene there depicted "is no mere flat land made of words out of other words on paper, but a fresh creation in three dimensions, a story in which the reader is conscious of space and light, of the earth underfoot, the sky overhead, and God in his Heaven."

"That, in a modest way," declares Professor Morison, "is what I have tried to do for Columbus"; and the fair-minded reader of *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* will scarcely deny that he has attained, if not more than attained, his goal. There may be certain minor features of style and content, such as a small proportion of well-selected slang, which are unworthy of the rest of the work, but otherwise the book is unquestionably a great and welcome achievement. Here, for once, the centre of interest is not the discoverer's race, religion, language, purpose, or other supposed secret, but the man himself, "in the round" as his contemporaries knew him, and especially as he sailed the unknown ocean, fanatically mistaken about world geography, uncanny in his mastery of the art of navigation, the despair of men of less courage and little faith. Nor does the author fail in other matters of historical judgement. Speculation is employed only when necessary and then in moderation and with common sense. Columbus and his age are not judged in moral matters by any narrow standards of time, place, or creed; but they are not permitted to escape judgement. Finally, Professor Morison has no private axe to grind—religious, racial, or political.

Other and less essential features of this book are the absence of references (these the reader may consult in a concurrent two-volume edition of *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*); fifty excellent and exhaustive maps, charts, and illustrations; a description of Spanish coins of the Columbian era and their present equivalents; appropriate mottoes, mostly biblical, at the heads of chapters; full and well-chosen quotations (always translated) from original documents; an account of the source materials used and, lastly, an index.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

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Montreal, The Story of Three Hundred Years. By JOHN IRWIN COOPER. Montreal: The author, Dept. of History, McGill University. 1942. Pp. 133.

Le Vieux Montréal, Fondation, Développement, Visite. Par VICTOR MORIN. Montréal: Les Editions des Dix. 1942. Pp. 43.

THE title of Mr. Cooper's book naturally would lead one to think that here is a new English story of Montreal, from 1642 to 1942. But such is not the case. On the occasion of the city's tercentenary, Mr. Cooper has simply published

une pièce de circonstance, in which, instead of narrating the historical evolution of Montreal, he has tried, according to his own words, to tell the city's story "in a series of word pictures rather on the principle of the peep-box show of happy memory." As a result, the present volume adds nothing to our knowledge either in using new material or presenting new interpretations. The author has not gone to primary sources, but has simply "drawn freely on the writings of other historians from Dollier de Casson to those of our own day."

Within this very limited and popular field, the author has achieved a rather successful piece of work, attractive and colourful, dashing and suggestive with a touch of social satire. His twenty-eight chapters, none exceeding five pages, form a series of short historical articles, each of which attempts to catch and summarize in a thumb-nail sketch, the dominant factor or episode of a period. A few typical titles reveal the author's method: "The Frontier Town" briefly describes the fur trade; "Clouds from the South" summarizes the American invasion, while "The Railway Age" tells its own story. But the process appears occasionally overdone or inadequate when one reads such chapters as "The New Montrealers," which describes only the activities of the Jewish immigrants, and "Hard Times 1929" which is entirely devoted to the stock exchange collapse, with its "change from the booming twenties to the crashing thirties."

It can be seen at a glance that the volume is not so much history as comments on various historical events, comments which, based on a sound psychological insight of the past, throw quite a revealing light on Montreal's evolution which often is stronger than a strict recital of facts. A few inaccuracies have slipped into the text. After Cartier, Montreal did not wait two generations for the white man's return. Besides Roberval's exploration in 1543, Jacques Noel and his two sons paid several visits to Montreal, between 1580 and 1590. The Lachine massacre was effected in war and not in peace time, in 1689. French ships never sailed to Montreal as they never ventured above Quebec. Mgr de Pontbriand did not administer the last Sacrament to Montcalm. The Prince of Wales did not shoot the Lachine rapids in an Indian canoe in 1860. Of course, the volume carries no bibliography or index, but it has six illustrations by the author.

M. Victor Morin's pamphlet, *Le Vieux Montréal*, is another publication *de circonstance* concerned with Montreal's tercentenary. In a first section, the general reader is offered a short narrative of Montreal's foundation from Maisonneuve's departure from France in May, 1641, to the celebration of mass on Place Royale in May, 1642. A second part briefly recalls the establishment of the four main institutions of the time: the Governor's Seigniorial Fort, the Hôtel-Dieu, the Congregation de Notre Dame, and the Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice. A third section consists of a descriptive visit to historical Montreal.

Within its small compass the author has aimed at nothing but a brief recital of well-known facts, which he has done quite well. In the course of the first section he rightly refutes the recent claim that Montreal was founded not on the 18th but the 17th of May, 1642. The claim is based on a misinterpretation of the facts and the Jesuit *Relation* of 1642.

Undoubtedly the best and most interesting part of M. Morin's pamphlet is his historical guide to old Montreal. The description of Ville-Marie, to give it its first name with the contemporary spelling, as encompassed within its former stone walls, should appeal to all Montrealers, as it links up at each

step historical facts, institutions, and men. The only slip noticed relates to Notre Dame street, which is said to be continued outside the western walls in St. Joseph street, yet the Labrosse plan reproduced by Mr. Morin makes it plain it was St. Michel street. Among the many pamphlets born from the tercentenary, M. Morin's *Le Vieux Montréal* is worth preserving.

The Public Archives,
Ottawa.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Hennepin's Description of Louisiana: A Critical Essay. By JEAN DELANGLEZ. (Institute of Jesuit History Publications, IV.) Chicago: The Institute. 1941. Pp. viii, 164. (\$2.70)

Travels in New France. By J.C.B. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Division of Community Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Edited by SYLVESTER K. STEVENS, DONALD H. KENT and EMMA EDITH WOODS. Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1941. Pp. xiv, 167. (75c.)

Souvenirs d'Edouard de Mondésir. Avec un Introduction par Gilbert Chinard. (Institut Français de Washington, Historical Documents.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. vi, 60. (\$1.50)

FATHER DELANGLEZ has written a book which is of great interest to the professional historian and the specialist in the field of early American history. Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane* was first published in 1682, enjoyed great success, and was translated into several European languages. It was followed in 1697 by his *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays* and in 1698 by the *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe* which are both in large part amplifications of the *Description*. Father Hennepin soon became suspected of boasting, exaggeration and mendacity, and particularly his claim—made in the two later works—to have preceded La Salle in the exploration of the Mississippi to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico met with immediate challenge. The American historian, Jared Sparks, in his *Life of La Salle*, I (Boston, 1844) demonstrated that Hennepin's account of this alleged journey was plagiarized from Father Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* which had been published in 1691. The charge of plagiarism, however, was not brought against the *Description* until the publication of Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le sud d'Amérique Septentrionale* (6 vols., Paris, 1876-88). The first volume of this work contained a document entitled *Relations des découvertes et voyages du Sieur de la Salle... 1679*, 80-1. Margry identified this as being the work of the Abbé Claude Bernou and as being based faithfully on letters from La Salle in Bernou's possession, and he declared that "Father Hennepin knew this document and borrowed freely from it." The American scholar, John Gilmary Shea, however, in the preface and notes of his English translation, the *Description of Louisiana by Father Hennepin* (New York, 1880), argued that Bernou's *Relation* was a plagiarism of Hennepin's *Description*. Parkman, Winsor, Thwaites, and various other historians have participated in this controversy and Father Delanglez in the book under review undertakes to solve the long-standing problem of the authenticity of the *Description* in the light of the facts now at our disposal. As the result of an exhaustive and carefully documented discussion of the internal and external evidence he reaches

the conclusions that Bernou's *Relation* is based directly on letters of La Salle and is anterior in time to Hennepin's *Description*, that the first two-thirds of the latter which deals with the period down to February 29, 1680, when Hennepin left La Salle behind at Fort Crèvecoeur, is a direct plagiarism of the first third of the *Relation*, and that the map which is contained in the *Description*, is also an imitation of an earlier map which Bernou helped to construct. Space forbids detailed discussion of the argument. To the reviewer some of Father Delanglez's points did not appear very conclusive and in some places it seemed that the evidence could have been marshalled with greater clarity. But, on the whole, the work is a thorough and scholarly attempt to solve a very difficult problem in historical criticism and the cumulative force of a great variety of evidence will probably make the work definitive on the major issue with which it deals.

While Father Delanglez writes primarily for the specialist, *Travels in New France* is a book which will appeal to the general reader as well. It covers the years from 1751 to 1761. All attempts to establish the identity of the writer, J.C.B., have failed. He does not seem to have written a daily diary, but he made notes of his travels and thirty or forty years later prepared a manuscript for publication. Probably because of the upheavals consequent upon the French Revolution the author's ambition was not realized during his lifetime and it was not until 1887 that the book was at last published in Quebec under the editorship of the Abbé H. R. Casgrain. Of this edition the present work is a translation. Reliance on memory or on hearsay has led to some errors, most of which are pointed out in the footnotes either of the Abbé Casgrain or of the present editors. As soldier, trader, and finally a prisoner of the British, J.C.B.'s travels took him to such points as Quebec, Montreal, Fort Frontenac, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, Presque Isle, Fort Duquesne, Ticonderoga, Oswego, Albany and New York. He had an observant eye, a lively intelligence, and a keen interest in natural phenomena, in men—both civilized and savage—and in the development of events. His self-esteem, his personal candour, the comments in which he indulges, and the trifling character of many of the details which he records lend charm and authenticity to his narrative. It is exceedingly interesting to view the life of a decade which determined the fate of North America through the eyes of an ordinary man of that day, and Dr. Stevens and his associates have rendered a real service to the English-speaking public in making this narrative available in a form which is both attractive and inexpensive.

The *Souvenirs d'Edouard de Mondésir* deal with a somewhat later period, that from 1789 to 1811. They were not actually composed, however, by the reverend Sulpician father until 1842 at the age of seventy-three. This is a considerable lapse of time but the narrative is fresh and would seem to be accurate. It records various episodes of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era of France, and also the experiences of a voyage to Canada in 1790 and of one to the United States in 1791. In the latter country he remained for twelve years, assisting in the founding of the Séminaire Sainte Marie in Baltimore and being the first to teach in the college founded by the ex-Jesuits at Georgetown, near the new federal capital of Washington. He also served the Church at Philadelphia and elsewhere. The main interest of his memoirs, apart from details concerning persons and conditions in the then infant United States and Canada, is psychological. One sees the reactions on a loyal French-

man and a devoted son of the Church both of the more heterodox, democratic, and tolerant society of the United States and of the new British régime in the French and Roman Catholic province of Quebec. On the whole he found the latter more congenial. The book also has value as giving what M. Chinard claims to be practically the only authentic picture of the youthful Chateaubriand, who was a companion of Father Mondésir on the voyage of 1791. The point of view throughout is, not unnaturally, rather strongly ecclesiastical and Roman Catholic. The book lacks an index, but the table of contents is fairly detailed.

All three works are attractively bound and printed.

M. H. LONG

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The Maritime Provinces of British North America and the American Revolution. By WILFRED BRENTON KERR. Sackville, N.B.: Busy East Press. [1941.] Pp. 172.

THIS tidy volume is reprinted from a series of articles in the *Maritime Advocate*. Packed though they were, in their original form, with local detail suitable for piecemeal publication, there was already a wealth of scholarship in the footnotes. Assembled now in book form they manifest a truly scholarly design. Professor Brebner's volume on *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937) covers much of the same story; but Dr. Kerr has set himself a different theme—to "trace the conditions and events which led the province to stay within the empire." An earlier study on Bermuda, *Bermuda and the American Revolution, 1760-83* (Princeton, 1936), began this theme in 1936, and there is a welcome promise of more to come. Contacts with the Revolution are here assembled in great detail. "Differences of interpretation," as Dr. Kerr suggests, are likely to remain, but it is the author's conviction that the outcome in the Maritime Provinces was in accord with the prevailing temper of the people themselves.

There are several useful chapters on St. John's (Prince Edward) Island and Newfoundland, where "it was plainly the Englishmen and Jersey men who kept the island loyal and politically quite." For or five of the seven chapters, however, deal with the old province of Nova Scotia, its legislative controversies, the various agitations which attended the American scene from 1761 to 1777, and the contest for the western reaches of the province (New Brunswick). The feuds between rival factions for the good things of office—the peculations of "paltry peddling fellows" (to quote Chatham) on both sides—are admirably traced in a North American perspective, with useful sidelights from Bermuda, Georgia, and other provinces. The First Empire must have been riddled by these practices. In Nova Scotia Governor Legge's own myrmidons were found to be pilferers too, and the point is well taken that Nova Scotian factions were conspicuous chiefly for relative harmony when left to themselves. They were "too wise to be vindictive" (p. 49). In these mutual accommodations Michael Francklin enjoyed "the greatest single political influence in Nova Scotia of the revolutionary period." Though married to the grand-daughter of Peter Faneuil himself, his first concern was "at all times for his native land." In Nova Scotia the frontier settlements fared far better than in Virginia or Pennsylvania. Here as elsewhere commerce reeked with smuggling, but the customs officers could

do their duty with little molestation. John Day himself, the most promising of the Assemblymen, could turn collector without forfeiting his influence. "A sense of responsibility" was combined with "a gift of stroking the fur the right way" (p. 23).

The failure of Allan, Eddy, and a few others to commit Nova Scotia to the Revolution is chiefly traceable, in the author's opinion, to the survival of the older and instinctive type of loyalty among the New Englanders of Nova Scotia, in distinction to the rapid "growth of national ideas and sentiments" in New England itself after the Seven Years' War. But after all is this not begging the question? Why was it that New Englanders did develop the "fierce spirit" of resistance in Boston and not in Halifax? Every major approach to the Board of Trade from Nova Scotia—from the flood of petitions which led to the first Assembly in 1758 to the recall of Governor Legge, nephew of Dartmouth himself, in the midst of the Revolution—had met with exemplary consideration, not unattended with loaves and fishes. The contrast here to the truculence of the new American Department towards Massachusetts is as sharp as that between the Board of Trade and Carleton himself, when peace (as John Pownall afterwards recalled bitterly to Dartmouth) was so "suddenly blasted" by other counsels. It is in this realm of policy that Dr. Kerr's thesis seems least convincing. In truth there could have been little difference of honest opinion between Nova Scotia and New England with regard to major British policy after 1774. This was particularly true of the one policy which made the issue in the end irremediable—"the fatal decision to *coerce* America." Carleton's project for marching a French army, to be raised by the seigneurs under the Quebec Act, against New England, was not less chimerical than Gage's for an army of "Hylanders," "Accadians," and Indians from Nova Scotia; and it was Governor Legge's response in devising "coercive measures" after the "example made of the Town of Boston," which brought even Nova Scotia into "an universal uproar." The hornets' nest of local faction added to the Governor's discomfiture, but it was not by chance that Carleton, Gage, and Legge were all recalled in one fell swoop.

In that sense the thanks of Council and Assembly alike for the recall of "this Ignorant Tyrant our Governor" in response to the "just complaints of your long patient but much oppressed people" was in keeping with the unbroken traditions of the province both before and since. Mutual confidence remained in the ascendant. If a return to this "unsuspecting confidence"—"something to trust to"—was the only feasible therapeutic, as Burke and Chatham maintained, for American relations, Nova Scotia was never seriously in jeopardy. This does not preclude a type of "loyalty" in Nova Scotia somewhat less ingenuous than that implied in Dr. Kerr's interesting thesis. It may be that Edward Winslow was not far wrong after the Revolution when he said that however exemplary their conduct the "public officers generally" in Nova Scotia had come to approve the "doctrines and principles" of the older colonies until they "became finally persuaded of the justice of their cause."

Discriminating bibliographical notes and a useful index add to the value of the book. There is room for more research like this in Canadian history.

CHESTER MARTIN

The University of Toronto.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Canadian Relations, 1784-1860.
Vol. II. 1821-1835. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING.
Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1942. Pp.
xxxviii, 1,016. (\$5.00)

Those who are acquainted with the late Dr. Manning's contributions to historical literature will welcome this volume. Like previous ones in this and other series which he edited, it is distinguished by judicious choice of documents, careful editing, exhaustive cross references, and an index that is a joy to use.

It must be obvious that the selection of documents for inclusion in a volume of this type, when one considers the enormous resources of the archives of the State Department in Washington, becomes the first and in many respects the most difficult task of the editor. For example, there are included here fifteen of the twenty-six protocols of the abortive Convention of 1824, whereas all twenty-one protocols and three Minutes of the Convention of 1827 are given. But protocols would themselves be of limited value to the scholar if they were unaccompanied by the relevant memoranda, proposals, and draft agreements which give life to the negotiations. These Dr. Manning has judiciously added.

Four subjects form the bulk of the correspondence. Boundaries—north-east, Pacific north-west, and the St. Lawrence—account for more than one half of the total. Indeed, there were no less than thirty individual boundary questions which needed settlement in this period. Trade between the United States, British North America, and the West Indies was an equally persistent problem and this is given extensive treatment. Navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic fisheries are dealt with at considerable length.

Several lesser problems are too sketchily treated for those who may wish to investigate them exhaustively. These include such matters as fortifications and reduction of naval armaments, extradition, the fur trade, maritime and neutral rights and the impressment of seamen, debt recovery, smuggling (a single reference), slavery and the slave trade, and proposals for the annexation and sale of Canada to the United States.

Occasionally one finds an astoundingly acute analysis of Canadian affairs (cf. W. B. Lawrence, United States Chargé in London to Henry Clay, Secretary of State, June 21, 1828, pp. 731-5). There are three maps showing contemporary boundary claims. If any one should doubt the influence of John Quincy Adams upon the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine his doubts will be put at rest by reading the following, written by Adams to Richard Rush on July 22, 1823, five months before the Presidential Message to Congress. "A necessary consequence of this state of things will be, that the American Continents henceforth will no longer be subjects of *Colonization*. Occupied by civilized Independent Nations, they will be accessible to Europeans and to each other on that footing alone . . ." (p. 64).

The volume is a testament to the desire of Great Britain and the United States to secure a series of conventions to dispose of troublesome disputes. Like the correspondence between Washington and London, some of which has already been published, the two hundred and thirty exclusively American documents bear abundant evidence of this, even though correspondence between the two capitals was at times carried on with acerbity. The difficulties encountered in negotiations may well be summed up by the British reply to the American claim to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence as a right. "A right claimed without qualification on one side, affords no room for friendly concession on

the other: Total admission, or total rejection is the only alternative which it presents" (p. 423). It is well that the volume itself contains a record of the means discovered to secure the necessary interests of both parties without doing violence to either one.

ALBERT B. COREY

The St. Lawrence University.

Les Quarante Ans de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine. Boston: The Society. 1940. Pp. 878. (\$7.00 bound; \$5.00 unbound)

La Société historique franco-américaine was founded at Boston in May, 1899, in order, in the words of its manifesto, to "bring to light, free from all partisanship and prejudice, the share which the French race has played in the evolution and formation of the American people." This volume is a record of its efforts during the last forty years and, if the Society produced little that is of importance, it has not been for lack of enthusiasm on the part of its members. A good deal that is printed here is in the nature of accounts of meetings or mere summaries of the papers given at them, but there are quite a number of these papers that are printed in full and a few are worthy of mention.

Under the title of "Cinquante années de régime américain dans le Michigan—1796-1846" (pp. 41-61), M. St.-Pierre has given a considerable amount of interesting detail in regard to French-Canadian settlement in southern Michigan, but he quotes no authorities for his statements. Professor W. B. Munro does a very sound and readable piece of work in his examination of the importance of Fort William Henry and its siege in 1757 (pp. 183-94), though it is unfortunate that he is made to say that the use of Indians "gave the French their remarkable nobility" (p. 192) when he is really referring to their mobility. M. A. Bélisle read before the society a useful bibliography of the French press in the United States (pp. 195-204), while Professor Morize gave a very charming picture of what French visitors during the last hundred years thought of Boston (pp. 288-305), though he is a little too tactful in glossing over the features which they did not admire. M. Pierre-Georges Roy of the Quebec Archives, in his delightful article on "Les Sources de la Petite Histoire" (pp. 348-63), amply proves his contention "que les greffes de nos anciens notaires sont les principales sources de la petite histoire de chez nous" (p. 350); every historian of French Canada should ponder the truth of what he has to say, and the examples with which he proves his point. Finally M. Gilbert Chinard does a first-class piece of work in his discussion of the long-enduring friendship between Lafayette and Thomas Jefferson (pp. 390-405). The rest of the papers sounded no doubt excellent as after-dinner orations, but they are not very likely to interest the readers of the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. There is no index.

E. R. ADAIR

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

NEUENDORFF, GWEN. *Studies in the evolution of Dominion status: The governor-generalship of Canada and the development of Canadian nationalism*. Foreword by HAROLD J. LASKI. London: George Allen and Unwin [Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons]. 1942. Pp. xii, 379. (\$5.75) To be reviewed later.

PENDLETON, GEORGE. *Voyageurs on the Nile* (Beaver, outfit 273, Sept., 1942, 9-11). The story of Canada's contribution to the Egyptian campaign of 1884-5.

RANGER, PIERRE. *Le commonwealth et l'empire* (Revue populaire, sept., 1941, 4-5).

WELLS, W. T. *The British Empire in the American century* (Fortnightly, no. 910, n. s., Oct., 1942, 248-54). "It is one of the first interests of world peace that the British Empire should justify itself to the American mind."

WILLIAMSON, JAMES A. *A notebook of Empire history*. London [Toronto]: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. x, 289. To be reviewed later.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *A hundred years of North America* (Minnesota history, XXIII (3), Sept., 1942, 201-10). An address before the North Shore Historical Assembly at Fort William, the theme of which is the "good-neighborliness between Canadians and Americans."

[Canada, Dept. of External Affairs.] *Representatives in Canada of the British Commonwealth and foreign governments*. Ottawa: The Department. July, 1942. Pp. 13.

Canadian Institute of International Affairs. *List of publications, summer, 1942*. Toronto: The Institute. 1942. Pp. 24.

Report on the work of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1941-2. Toronto: The Institute, 3 Willcocks St. 1942. Pp. 40.

GLAZEBROOK, G. P. DE T. *Canada at the Paris Peace Conference*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 156. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

Canadian external relations: An historical study to 1914. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 312. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

GROULX, LIONEL. *L'annexionnisme au Canada français* (Action nationale, juin, 1941, 443-55).

HARRISON, W. E. C. and REID, A. N. *Canada and the United Nations: Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, May 23-4, 1942*. (Contemporary Affairs series no. 15.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. vi, 62. (50c.)

HOWAY, F. H., SAGE, W. N. and ANGUS, H. F. *British Columbia and the United States: The North Pacific slope from fur trade to aviation*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, J. T. Shotwell, Director.) New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 408. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

LEDoux, BURTON. *Le Canada français jugé par l'oncle Sam* (Action nationale, juin, 1941, 522-33).

LOWER, A. R. M. *Canada's foreign policy* (New commonwealth quarterly, VII (4), April, 1942, 271-80). Summarizes the conflicting trends of Canada's foreign policy and hopes that the war will cause her to form a realistic policy based on geography and history.

McINNIS, EDGAR W. *The unguarded frontier: A history of American-Canadian relations*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. viii, 384. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.

Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States. 1926 (in 2 volumes). 1927 (in 3 volumes). Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1941. 1942. Pp. cxxviii, 1126; xcii, 1023. Pp. lxxxii, 565; cvi, 841; xcvi, 885. (\$2.00 each vol.) To be reviewed later.

TROTTER, REGINALD G. *Canada and Pan-Americanism* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX(3), autumn, 1942, 252-60). Reviews three recently published books discussing Canada's relations with Latin America.

TRUDEL, GENEST. *Une étape dans l'évolution du statut international du Canada* (Action universitaire, avril, 1941, 13-17; mai, 11-16).

WHITAKER, ARTHUR P. (ed.) *Inter-American affairs, 1941*. (An annual survey, no. 1.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 240. (\$3.00) Contains material on Canada. The volume is intended to cover important developments of the year not only in politics and diplomacy, economics and finance, but also in cultural relations, social welfare, public health and labour.

III. CANADA AND THE WAR

BARTLETT, E. H. *The Royal Canadian Navy, 1941-2* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV(5), Nov., 1942, 205-45). "Its accomplishments in three years . . . may, with right, be written into the record as one of Canada's outstanding achievements."

Canada. I. *The conscription plebiscite* (Round table, no. 128, Sept., 1942, 502-4).

Canada, Dept. of Labour. *Wartime orders in council affecting labour*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 53. This collection of orders affecting labour in Canada includes those on labour supply.

Canada, Dept. of Munitions and Supply. *The industrial front: A summary covering the steps taken by Canada since 1939 to provide munitions and to mobilize industry for war purposes*. Vol. II. Ottawa: The Department. July 1, 1942. Pp. 138.

Canada, Dept. of National Defence. *Report of, for fiscal year ending March 31, 1942*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 48. (25c.)

Canada, Director of Public Information. *Canada and the people's war*. Ottawa: The Director. 1942. Pp. [48]. A pictorial account of Canada's war effort, which replaces the September and October issues of the "Canada at War" series.

Canada at war. No. 17 in the series, Aug., 1942. No. 18, Nov., 1942. Ottawa: The Wartime Information Board. 1942. Pp. 16 each. No. 17 is the fourth supplement to No. 13 in the series. No. 18 is a

- supplement to "Canada and the People's War," which replaced the September and October issues of "Canada at War." Thus a cumulative record of Canada's war effort to November 1, 1942, is given.
- Canada, Director of Public Information. *Canada's war record, August, 1942*. Ottawa: Department of Public Information. 1942. Pp. 8.
- [Canada, Dominion of]. *Defence of Canada regulations* (consolidation), 1942. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 90.
- _____. *Red Cross and prisoners of war conventions*. (Treaty series, 1942; no. 6.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 99.
- Canada, Privy Council. *Canadian war orders and regulations, 1942*. Vol. I. no. 1 (weekly). Oct. 12, 1942. Pp. 24. This begins a new series of publications, giving the Orders in Council and Proclamations relating to the war, previously issued in volume form every few months. This first number contains all Orders in Council of general interest and concern from October 1, 1942.
- _____. *Proclamations and Orders in Council relating to the war*. Vols. VI, VII, VIII. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 287, 216, 228. Volume VIII brings the record up to September 30, 1942, and is the last of the old series of Proclamations and Orders in Council to be published. Henceforward it will be replaced by "Canadian War Orders and Regulations," entered above.
- Canada's war effort* (Royal Engineers journal, LVI, Sept., 1942, 233-9). Reprinted from *The Daily Colonist*, Victoria, B.C., June 7, 1942.
- CHARPENTIER, FULGENCE. *La presse française et la guerre* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, juillet-sept., 1941, 300-18).
- CROSS, AUSTIN F. *Steel ships and fighting men* (Canadian business, XV(10), Oct., 1942, 50-3). A survey of war conditions in the Maritime Provinces.
- DEAN BASIL. *R.C.A.F. overseas* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV (6), Dec., 1942, 265-95). An article of praise for the achievements of the R.C.A.F. on many fronts.
- FIELD, P. J. *Canada's wings*. London: John Lane [Montreal: Queen's Canadian Fund]. 1942. Pp. 126. (\$1.00) A brief account of the exploits of Canadian airmen in Great Britain during the first eighteen months of the war; an interesting and straightforward survey, which includes a number of first-hand stories of individual actions.
- ILSLEY, J. L. *Canada's billion dollar gift to Britain* (an address delivered to the Canadian House of Commons, March 18, 1942). Ottawa: Director of Public Information. 1942. Pp. 22.
- International Labour Office. *Labor conditions in war contracts*. (Studies and Reports, series D, Wages and Hours of Work, no. 23.) Washington, D.C.: International Labor Office, 734 Jackson Place; Montreal: The I.L.O. 1942. (25c.) A study with special reference to Canada, Great Britain, and the United States.
- JAMES, F. CYRIL. *Planning of Canadian reconstruction policies* (Canadian chartered accountant, XLI(4), Oct., 1942, 250-64). An address delivered before the Dominion Association of Chartered Accountants at Calgary in August, 1942, by the Chairman of the Committee on Post-War Rehabilitation.
- KERR, JAMES. *Canada and the war* (National review, July, 1942).
- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Labour and the war: An address to the American Federation of Labour, 1942 convention, Toronto, October 9, 1942*. (Canada and the war series.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 11.
- _____. *Manpower and a total war effort: National selective service*. (Broadcast, August 19, 1942). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 12.
- _____. *Nothing matters now but victory: An address on the opening of the 1942 Victory Loan campaign, Montreal, October 16, 1942*. (Canada and the war series.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 11.

- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Three years of war: The real issue in the struggle*. (Broadcast Sept. 10, 1942.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 12.
- LITTLE, ELLIOTT M. *Labour responsibilities in wartime*. (Canada, Department of Labour.) Ottawa: Progressive Printers. 1942. Pp. 16. An address delivered before the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Winnipeg, August 25, 1942.
- McINNIS, EDGAR. *Oxford periodical history of the war*. No. 12. *April to June, 1942*. No. 13. *July to September, 1942*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. (25c. each)
- MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Canadian war financing* (Journal of political economy, L(4), Aug., 1942, 481-500). Record of Canadian war financing, from September, 1939, to the budget of June, 1942.
- Manitoba, University of, Extension Department. *Canada and the post-war world*. Winnipeg: The University. 1941. Pp. 81 (mimeo.). (60c.)
- ROTHROP, Commander LINCOLN. *The Royal Canadian Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, LXVIII (no. 475), Sept., 1942, 1239-47). Sketches the growth of the Navy in men and ships. Contains a number of pages of illustrations, including a photograph of H.M.C.S. *Restigouche* and others, rank badges, etc. [J. H. ELLIOTT]
- STACEY, C. P. *The Canadian army overseas, 1941-1942* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV (4), Oct., 1942, 153-79).
- SWINDLER, WILLIAM F. *Wartime news control in Canada* (Public opinion quarterly, VI (3), fall, 1942, 444-9). "On the whole, although it has proved strict and occasionally irksome, censorship in Canada has not reached dictatorship proportions."
- T., J. S. *Topics of the day. National selective service* (Dalhousie review, XXII (3), Oct., 1942, 361-4). A discussion of its functions.
- TOWERS, G. F. *Canada's economic policy in war* (Bankers' magazine, CXLV(3), Sept., 1942, 211-16). Canadian war policy is considered with regard to taxation, public borrowing, and bank financing.
- WHITTON, CHARLOTTE. *Canadian women in the war effort*. (Macmillan war pamphlets, Canadian series.) Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1942. Pp. vi, 57. (50c.) This pamphlet gives in useful and brief form an outline of the place of women in the Canadian economy in war and in peace, the rapid development and organization of the three women's active service forces, and the work carried on by the voluntary war organizations.

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- ACHARD, EUGÈNE. *Les grands noms de l'histoire canadienne*. Montréal: Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec: Action Catholique. 1941. Pp. 62. (15c.)
- BAILEY, THOMAS A. *A diplomatic history of the American people*. (Crofts American History series; Dixon Ryan Fox, general editor.) Ed. 2. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1942. (\$4.25) This excellent survey of the diplomatic history of the United States has been brought up to date by the addition of two chapters on the entrance of the United States into the war, and by additions to the bibliographies. A number of minor changes have also been made in the earlier parts of the book.
- BÉGIN, EMILE. *Garneau et le romantisme* (Canada français, oct., 1941, 127-34).
- BROWN, GEORGE W. *Building the Canadian nation*. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited. 1942. Pp. xiv, 478. (\$2.25) An amply illustrated history of Canada for use in Canadian high schools. To be reviewed later.

Canadian Catholic Historical Association [La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Eglise catholique]. *Report, 1940-1*. Ottawa: The Association. 1942. Pp. 107, 85. French and English sections. The articles are listed separately in this bibliography.

MARQUIS, G.-E. *L'histoire du Canada commence-t-elle en 1760?* (L'œuvre des tracts, no. 251.) Montréal: Action Paroissiale. 1940. Pp. 16. (10c.)

PIERSON, GEORGE WILSON. *American historians and the frontier hypothesis in 1941* (I) (Wisconsin magazine of history, XXVI (1), Sept., 1942, 36-60). Reports the results of an inquiry into present-day professional opinion of the frontier hypothesis of Frederick Jackson Turner.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

ACHARD, EUGÈNE. *Le corsaire de la baie d'Hudson: Exploits d'Iberville*. Montréal: Libr. Générale canadienne; Québec: Action catholique. 1941. Pp. 62. (15c.)

MCILROY, JOHN W. *The ocean navigation of Columbus on his first voyage* (American neptune, I (3), July, 1941, 209-40). The charting and navigation of "The Admiral" are carefully examined in hopes of solving several mysteries.

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. *Columbus and Polaris* (American neptune, I (1, 2), Jan., April, 1941, 6-25; 123-37). Examines the use made by Columbus of the North Star to find latitude.

(3) New France

Carillon, May 8th to July 2nd, 1756: Diary kept at the fort; probably by Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, VI (4), July, 1942, 128-44). From the Archives of the City of Montreal; fragments of a diary kept during the erection of the fort.

FAUTEUX, NOËL. *Les constructions navales au Canada sous le régime français* (Revue du Québec industriel, V (1), 2-4, 11).

GROULX, LIONEL. *L'expédition du Chevalier de Troyes, en 1686, à la baie d'Hudson* (Action nationale, XVII, 1941, 275-86).
La fondation de Ville-Marie (Action nationale, déc., 1941, 301-9).

JEANNERET, MARCEL and JEANNERET, ETHEL MELLAN. *From Cartier to Champlain: The story of the founding of Canada*. (Centennial series of readers in social studies.) Toronto: Copp Clark. 1941. Pp. 64. (15c.)

LEDET, WILTON PAUL. *Acadian exiles in Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania history, April, 1942).

LONG, MORDEN H. *A history of the Canadian people*. Vol. I. *New France*. With illustrations and maps by C. W. JEFFERYS. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 376. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

MONTPETIT, EDOUARD. *La Conquête économique*. III. *Perspectives*. Montréal: Les Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1942. Pp. 296. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

PRINCE, JEANNE. *La seigneurie au Canada français* (School, XXIX, 1941, 901-6).

ROBERTS, W. ADOLPHE. *The French in the West Indies*. Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1942. Pp. 335. (\$4.00)

ROBITAILLE, GEORGES. *Guerre de sept ans. Les années 1758 et 1759* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVI, sec. 1, mai, 1942, 95-102). Relates events of these momentous years both in Europe and in Canada.

(4) British North America before 1867

- BALD, F. CLEVER. *General Anthony Wayne visits Detroit* (Michigan history magazine, XXVI (4), autumn, 1942, 439-56). For three months during the summer and autumn of 1796, Wayne, conqueror of the Indians of the North-west, and commander-in-chief of the American Army, was a resident of Detroit.
- BELKNAP, HENRY WYCKOFF (comp.). *A check list of Salem privateers in the war of 1812* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXXVIII, July, 1942, 241-64).
- BROWN, LLOYD A. *Manuscript maps in the William L. Clements Library* (American neptune, I (2), April, 1941, 141-8). The five hundred and fifty manuscript maps constitute a mass of geographic data and military intelligence compiled between 1755 and 1800 for the use of civil and military authorities responsible for the development of British colonization in North America and the West Indies.
- BRUNHOUSE, ROBERT L. *The counter-revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-90*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1942. Pp. viii, 368. (\$1.00 cloth bound; 75c. paper)
- CLARK, WILLIAM BELL. *American naval policy, 1775-1776* (American neptune, I (1), Jan., 1941, 26-41). Examines the deliberations which led to the adoption by Congress of an aggressive naval policy against all ships of Great Britain in March, 1776.
- CRANWELL, JOHN PHILIPS and CRANE, WILLIAM BOWERS. *Men of Marque: A history of private armed vessels out of Baltimore during the War of 1812*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 1940. Pp. 427. (\$3.75) A carefully-documented history of Baltimore's private-armed vessels from its very inception to its final days.
- GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. *George Washington and the Catholics* (Historical bulletin, XX (3), March, 1942, 51-2, 62, 63-6). Throws light on Washington's part in the anti-Catholic attitude of the American Revolutionists towards the French inhabitants of Quebec.
- GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY. *"Some Reflections upon the American Revolution" and other essays in American colonial history*. Bethlehem, Pa.: The author, Dept. of History and Government, Lehigh University. 1942. Pp. [70]. A compilation of the author's recent writings in colonial history in various periodicals, including an article reprinted from the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, March, 1942, on the American Revolution.
- GREEN, ERNEST. *"The Song of the Battle of the Windmill"* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, XXXIV, Toronto, 1942, 43-5). After the success gained at Prescott windmill in November, 1838, by British regulars and Canadian volunteers and militia over an invading force composed almost wholly of foreigners, a song of triumph was born.
- JENNINGS, JOHN. *Gentleman Ranker*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. x, 565. (\$3.25) An historical novel about a young private whose regiment was with Braddock's ill-fated campaign.
- KERR, W. B. *When Orange and Green united, 1832-9: The alliance of Macdonell and Gowan* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, XXXIV, Toronto, 1942, 34-42). Points out that outside of the ranks of the Family Compact, three men, Egerton Ryerson, Bishop Alexander Macdonell, Roman Catholic Scot, and Ogle Robert Gowan, officer of the Grand Orange Lodge in Canada, guided the loyalist cause successfully in the troubled eighteen-thirties.
- KIRKLAND, FREDERIC RICHARDSON (ed.). *Letters on the American Revolution in the library at "Karolfred"*. Philadelphia: Privately printed [Allen, Lane, and Scott]. 1942.

- LUCEY, WILLIAM L. *Some correspondence of the Maine Commissioners regarding the Webster-Ashburton Treaty* (New England quarterly, XV (2), June, 1942, 332-48). Reveals the views of the Commissioners in the dispute.
- McKELL, DAVID McC. *Ross County's little known Indian years, 1752-1774*. Chillocothe, Ohio: Ross County Historical Society. 1942. Pp. 12. (25c.) A little pamphlet giving an account of the years of transition from British rule to American rebellion, 1752-74, in this Ohio county.
- MORTON, ARTHUR S. *The posts of the fur-traders on the upper Assiniboine River* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXVI, sec. 2, May, 1942, 101-14). Descriptions and locations of some fifteen fur-trading posts that were active in the upper Assiniboine valley at various periods between 1791 and 1871.
- QUAIFE, M. M. (ed.). *From Marietta to Detroit in 1815* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio quarterly bulletin, XIV (4), Oct., 1942, 134-55). The editor here presents "a representative sample of the rich William Woodbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library."
- STEVENS, SYLVESTER K. and KENT, DONALD H. (eds.). *The papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet*. Series 21647, 21648 (parts I and II), 21649 (parts I and II). Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, in co-operation with the Work Projects Administration. Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1942. (mimeo.). To be reviewed later.
- WHITEHILL, WALTER MUIR (ed.). *New England blockaded: The journal of Henry Edward Napier, lieutenant in H.M.S. Nymphe*. Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 161 Essex Street. 1939. Pp. xxii, 88. (\$2.50)
- WILDES, HARRY EMERSON. *Anthony Wayne: Trouble shooter of the American Revolution*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. [Toronto: George J. McLeod]. 1941. Pp. xiv, 514. (\$4.75)
- WITKE, CARL (ed.). *The history of the state of Ohio*. Vol. II. *The frontier state, 1803-1825* by WILLIAM T. UTTER. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1942. Pp. xiv, 454. The Canadian material has reference to the invasion of 1812.
- (5) **The Dominion of Canada**
- À la mémoire de feu le notaire Joseph Sirois (Revue de notariat, XLIII, 1941, 235-90).
- Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, 1942*. Québec: L'Action Sociale Catholique. 1942. Pp. 96. This is the twenty-sixth year of publication of this journal, which contains articles by Mgr Olivier Maurault, M. Marius Barbeau, and M. Noël Bernier, listed elsewhere in this bibliography.
- ANESI, HORTENSIA R. DE. *Viajando por America. Yellowstone, Gillete, Rochester, Detroit, Niagara, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, Saratoga y New York, de regreso a Buenos Aires* (Revista geográfica Americana, Buenos Aires, XIV (no. 86), Nov., 1940, 311-32).
- ANGERS, F.-A. *Les relations du Dominion et des provinces* (Actualité économique, mai, 1940, 168-72).
- BÉIQUE, PAUL. *Le rapport sirois: Comité d'étude* (Bulletin de la Chambre de commerce du district de Montréal, déc., 1940, 7-10).
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Trade and Commerce. *The Canada year book, 1942: Official statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions, and social and economic conditions of the Dominion*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 1, 1030. (\$1.50)

- Canada, Dominion of. *Acts of the Parliament of, passed in the third session of the nineteenth Parliament* (Jan. 22, 1942 to Aug. 1, 1942). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942.
- _____. *Journals of the House of Commons. Second session of the nineteenth parliament of Canada; session 1940-42.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. [iv], 763. (\$2.75)
- _____. *Official report of debates, House of Commons, third session, nineteenth parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.* Vol. I, 1942, being vol. CCXXIX for period 1875-1942. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 1041.
- Canada, Secretary of State. *Report for year ended March 31, 1942.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 40. (10c.)
- CLOKIE, H. MCD. *Judicial review, federalism, and the Canadian constitution* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII (4), Nov., 1942, 537-56). "It must be recognized that the progressive fulfilment of Dominion national aspirations, externally and internally, must carry with it very considerable if not almost revolutionary alteration in Canadian constitutionalism." The second of two articles on the Canadian constitution; the first appeared in the February issue of the C.J.E.P.S.
- COATS, R. H. *Reconstruction: The general economic setting.* (The first of a series of ten lectures on reconstruction to be published later.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. 24. (25c.)
- COHEN, MAXWELL. *Economic controls and Canada's constitution* (Saturday night, March 21, 1942, 10-11). "Should we not then try for an amendment of the B.N.A. Act which would make it plain that the Dominion can continue these wartime controls at least during any emergency such as that of the readjustment period?"
- Conference of Commissioners on Uniformity of Legislation in Canada. *Rules of drafting, together with observations and suggestions on the drafting of legislation adopted by the Conference.* Toronto: Eric H. Silk, K.C., Legislative Council, Queen's Park. 1942. Pp. 42.
- Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. *A new order shall arise: Statements on the policy of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) in the present struggle against the Nazis and Fascists, consisting of an address by M. J. Coldwell, policy resolutions adopted by the 1940 National Convention of the C.C.F., cables of greetings exchanged by the C.C.F. with the British Labour party.* Ottawa: National Office of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. 1940. Pp. 24. (10c.)
- DANSEREAU, DOLLARD. *Olivar Asselin, journaliste* (Regards, II, 1941, 67-70).
- DELL, MARTIN. *A Cabinet Minister on post-war "Reconstruction"* (Canadian forum, XXII (262), Nov., 1942, 232-5). Questions some statements of the Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health, made at the opening session of the Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment of the House of Commons.
- DESFRÉS, JEAN-PIERRE. *Olivar Asselin, économiste* (Regards, II, 1941, 63-6).
- Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Mines and Geology Branch. *Development of mineral resources in Canada* (Geographical journal, XCIX (5, 6), May-June, 1942, 260-6).
- FLAHERTY, FRANCIS. *A Conservative philosophy* (Saturday night, vol. 58 (2), Sept. 19, 1942, 10-11). Comments on the Port Hope conference of Conservatives, and their agreement on a statement of aims and beliefs summarized in this article.
- FOREST, M.-CESLAS. *A la mémoire de Louis Francaeur* (Revue dominicaine, juillet-août, 1941, 51-2).
- FORSEY, EUGENE. *Distribution of the national income in Canada* (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 261), Oct., 1942, 214-15).

- GAGNON, JEAN-LOUIS. *Olivar Asselin, candidat* (Regards, II, 1941, 71-6).
- GARNEAU, RENÉ. *Notes sur Olivar Asselin* (Regards, II, 1941, 81-4).
- GIROUX, GEO.-M. *Le notaire Joseph Sirois* (Revue du barreau, I, 1941, 51-4).
- GRIGNON, CLAUDE-HENRI (Valdombre pseud.). *Louis Francœur toujours vivant* (Pamphlets de Valdombre, avril-mai, 1941, 347-415).
- HADEN, ERNEST F. *French-speaking areas of Canada* (American Council of Learned Societies, Conference on non-English speech in the United States, Bull. no. 34, Washington, 1942, 82-9).
- Hommage à Louis Francœur* (Regards, II, 1941, 193-223).
- KERR, JAMES. *The French in Canada* (Empire review, LXXVI, no. 499, Aug., 1942, 79-82). A consideration of the place of the French Canadian in the life of Canada.
- KNOTT, LEONARD L. *Canada's colossus* (Canadian business, XV (5), May, 1942, 26-35, 116, 118, 120, 122). A review of the wealthy pulp and paper industry.
- LAURENDEAU, ARTHUR. *Lettre ouverte à un intellectuel anglo-canadien* (Action nationale, XV, 1940, 306-15).
- LUSSIER, GABRIEL-M. *Tête et cœur de chevalier* [Olivar Asselin] (Regards, II, 1941, 56-62).
- MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Aux intellectuels anglo-canadiens* (Canada français, nov., 1940, 258-60).
- MEARS, F. C. *Canada's Cabinet* (Canadian business, XV (8), Aug., 1942, 34-44). A study of the Cabinet and the men who compose it.
- MURRAY, ELSIE MCLEOD. *Salvage Canada's past*. (Reprinted from *Ontario Library Review*, XXVI (3), Aug., 1942, 286-96). Copies may be secured from the University of Western Ontario Library, London, Ont. This pamphlet deals with the care and handling of historical manuscript material, and was written particularly for libraries, historical societies, and other depositories in the province of Ontario. Examples of work already done in the province and a bibliography are included. This publication should be of great assistance to all those interested in the sources of Canadian history.
- PELLETIER, ALBERT. *Le nationalisme d'Olivar Asselin* (Regards, II, 1941, 50-5).
- POULIN, GONZALVE. *La famille canadienne-française dans son évolution historique* (Action nationale, XVI, 1940, 31-43, 123-41).
- . *La famille canadienne aux prises avec les difficultés économiques* (Culture, sept., 1941, 273-88).
- Public Administration Clearing House. *Public administration organizations: A directory of unofficial organizations in the field of public administration in the United States and Canada*. Vol. V. Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House. 1941. Pp. xii, 187. (\$1.50)
- RICHER, LÉOPOLD. *La faillite de la Conférence d'Ottawa: La réunion des 14 et 15 janvier, 1941*. (Collection "Le document," no. 35.) Montréal: Impr. Populaire. 1941. Pp. 46. (15c.)
- . *Les conditions de l'unité canadienne* (Regards, I, 1941, 10-17).
- SIMARD, GEORGES. *Mgr Louis-Adolphe Paquet, 1859-1942* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVI, sec. I, mai, 1942, 103-8). The influence that Mgr Paquet exercised as an educationalist, a Thomist thinker, and a churchman, has been considerable.

- SYLVESTRE, GUY (BLAISE ORLIER pseud.) *Louis Francœur, journaliste*. Ottawa: Edns. du Droit, 1941. Pp. 32. (15c.)
- TOMBS, LAURENCE C. *A call for Canadian unity*. Montreal: The City Improvement League and the Municipal Service Bureau. 1942. Pp. [8]. A broadcast.
- University of Toronto, Victoria College. *In memoriam, Margaret Addison, 1868-1940*. Toronto: Clarke Irwin. 1941. Pp. 26.
- VALIQUETTE, BERNARD. *Plaidoyer pour l'éditeur canadien-français* (Action nationale, XV, 1940, 336-43).
- VERVILLE, BERNARDIN. *Notre famille canadienne* (La famille, III, 1940, 143-7).
- YENDALL, WILLIAM R. *The common problem*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 339. (\$2.00 cloth; \$1.00 paper) "The 'common problem' for Canadians of this generation is—how are we to get what we want, how are we to be what we want to be, within the conditions of Canadian life and of Canada's place among the nations?"

(6) The War of 1914-18

- RICHER, LÉOPOLD. *La conscription au Canada en 1917: Comment le parlement la décida*. (Collection "Le document" no. 34.) Montréal: Impr. Populaire. 1940. Pp. 43. (15c.)

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- CLARK, ANDREW. *Prince Edward Island* (International quarterly, VI (2), spring, 1942, 33-5). The history and characteristics of the Islanders are discussed.
- DUNCAN, DOROTHY. *Bluenose: A portrait of Nova Scotia*. New York, London: Harper and Brothers [Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons and Co.]. 1942. Pp. xii, 273. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- FORSEY, EUGENE. *Sectional representation in Maritime provincial cabinets since 1867* (Public affairs, VI (1), autumn, 1942, 23-4, 30).
- INNIS, H. A. *Imperfect regional competition and political institutions on the North Atlantic seaboard* (University of Toronto commerce journal, I (2), April, 1942, 21-6). Traces the interrelationships between the two.
- Maritime Provinces*. See special section of Financial Post, June 20, 1942, for effects of the war on the Maritime economy.
- [MAURAUULT, OLIVIER, MORIN, VICTOR, and FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS]. *Acadie 1940, journal de voyage*. Montréal: Editions des Dix. 1941. Pp. 68. Privately printed.
- RADDALL, THOMAS H. *His Majesty's Yankees*. New York: Doubleday Doran [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. xiv, 409. (\$3.00) A novel which deals with the part played by the Yankees of Nova Scotia in the American Revolution.
- RANKIN, D. J. *Laurence Kavanagh* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Report, 1940-1, 51-76). Biographical notes on a leading citizen of Cape Breton in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- WALTON, JESSIE M. *The Loyalist Quaker settlement, Pennfield, N.B., 1783*. Aurora, Ont.: The Author. 1941.
- WISDON, J. *Glace Bay [N.S.] looks ahead*. Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council. 1940. Pp. 23.

(2) The Province of Quebec

Almanach du peuple Beauchemin, 72e année. Montréal: Edns. Beauchemin. 1941. Pp. 480. (25c.)

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Québec, 57e étoile sur le drapeau de l'Oncle Sam* (Action nationale, XVII, 1941, 481-99).

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Gaspésiades* (Canada français, oct., 1940, 148-59).
 ———. *Les vapeurs de Montréal* (Revue du Québec industriel, V (1), 1940, 8-11).

BÉLANGER, L.-F. *Un anctre de la médecine trifluvienne, Pierre de Sales La Terrière (1743-1815)* (Union médicale du Canada, 1940, 69, 860-4).

BÉRUBÉ, LOUIS. *Coup d'œil sur les pêcheries de Québec*. Ste.-Anne de la Pocatière, Qué.: Ecole supérieure des Pêcheries. 1941. Pp. 217. (80c.)

BRASSARD, E.-M. *Le Saguenay historique*. (Collection "Mon pays".) Montréal: Edns. Fides. 1941. Pp. 96. (30c.)

———. *Le Saguenay pittoresque*. (Collection "Mon pays".) Montréal: Edns. Fides. 1941. Pp. 96. (30c.)

BROUILLETTE, BENOÎT. *La région des Appalaches* (Actualité économique, avril, 1941, 1-28).

BRUCHESI, JEAN. *Une correspondante de Mgr Bruchesi, Reynès-Monlaur* (Canada français, sept., 1941, 17-25).

———. *De Ville-Marie à Montréal*. Montréal: Les Editions de l'Arbre. 1942. Pp. 154. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

Les Cahiers des Dix, numéro sept. Montréal: Les Dix. 1942. Pp. 333. The 1942 number of *Les Cahiers des Dix* has been devoted exclusively to the history of Montreal, in celebration of that city's third centenary. A review of its articles, by the members of *Les Dix*, will appear at a later date.

Canada, Royal Commission to inquire into the events which occurred at Arvida, P.Q. in July, 1941. *Report of the Commissioners*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 13.

CHARLAND, THOMAS-M. *Histoire de Saint-François-du-Lac*. Ottawa: Collège Dominicain. 1942. Pp. 365. (\$3.00) This volume is a valuable addition to the local histories of Canada though it is incomplete, especially in the nineteenth century and later. Of this the author is apparently aware. He has made careful use of the documents up to about 1812, and in the discussion of the early period has corrected and enlarged upon the previous work of Benjamin Sulte on this town. From 1812 on, the book is devoted chiefly to a consideration of the local crisis occasioned by the transference of the church from one part of the parish to another. The documentation is thin in this later period. No adequate attention is given to such important questions as the effects of industrialization, emigration to the United States and to the larger cities like Montreal, and the questions of social, economic, and cultural life. These aspects of local life must be studied in many towns before anything like a satisfactory general history of Canada in this period can be written. It is a pity that the book descends so often into mere lists of names, dates, and events. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

COVERDALE, WILLIAM HUGH. *Tadoussac, then and now: A history and narrative of the Kingdom of the Saguenay*. Montreal: Canada Steamship Lines. 1942. Pp. 24. (not for sale) Tadoussac was chosen as one of the very earliest spots for European emigration. Its selection, perhaps, dates from 1600, when Henry IV of France granted a monopoly of the fur trade of this continent to Chauvin and de Pontgrave if they would undertake to bring out fifty settlers every year. The story of Tadoussac from its earliest settlement to the present time is entertainingly and accurately

told in this volume, which I can whole-heartedly recommend to every lover of the story of the early times of our land. [W. R. RIDDELL]

DAGENAIS, PIERRE. *La région des Laurentides* (Actualité économique, mai, 1941, 101-25).

Documents maskoutains, no. 13, assemblée du 13 octobre 1941: Communication de Monsieur le chanoine P.-A. Saint-Pierre. Saint-Hyacinthe, Qué.: Société d'histoire régionale. 1941. Pp. 28.

FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *Montréal il y a un siècle* (Canadiana, I, 1940, 3-10).

GAUVREAU, J.-M. *Artisans du Québec.* Trois-Rivières: Edns. du Bien Public. 1940. Pp. 231.

LAPORTE, JOSEPH. *Petites vérités sur l'Abitibi* (Carnets, V, juillet, 1941, 151-5).

LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *Montreal: Seaport and city.* New York: Doubleday Doran and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. xii, 340. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Les archives du séminaire de Québec* (Canada français, fév., 1940, 503-8).

Montréal, ville inconnue. (Œuvre des tracts, no. 269.) Montréal: Action paroissiale. 1941. Pp. 16. (10c.)

MAURAU, OLIVIER. *Montréal* (Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, Québec, 1942, 10-14). Traces the history of the city from its foundation.

MORIN, VICTOR. *Aux sources de l'histoire de Montréal* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVI, sec. 1, mai, 1942, 83-94). The author compares and examines the different sources of information drawn upon by various authors who have written about the city on the occasion of its tercentenary.

PLAMONDON, LÉO-AIMÉ. *Les fêtes d'autrefois à Québec* (Revue populaire, déc., 1941, 17, 63, 69).

ROTHNEY, GORDON O. *Leave Quebec alone* (Canadian forum, XXII (260), Sept., 1942, 178-80). Argues that Canadians can be divided into two classes, imperialists or nationalists, and that "at the present time these two myths are responsible for the major cleavage in Canadian politics. Consequently, sentiments which sound like pure patriotism in Quebec are regarded as sheer treason in Ontario, and vice versa."

RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Histoire de la province de Québec.* V. *Riel.* VI. *Les "Nationaux."* VII. *Taillon.* VIII. *Laurier.* IX. *Marchand.* Montréal: Les Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1942. (\$1.00 each) Vol. I was reviewed in the December, 1940, issue, p. 426; vols. II-IV, in December, 1941, p. 438; vols. V-IX will be reviewed in a later issue.

VÉZINA, FRANÇOIS. *La région du Saint-Laurent* (Actualité économique, mars, 1941, 401-27).

(3) The Province of Ontario

A brief historical sketch of the Queen's York Rangers, 1st American Regiment. Toronto: Fort York Armoury. 1942. Pp. 30. A little booklet which emphasizes the highlights in the regiment's history for new recruits; a more complete history is in preparation.

CAMPBELL, GRACE. *Thorn-apple tree.* Toronto: Collins Sons and Co. 1942. Pp. 230. (\$2.50) A novel of pioneer days in Glengarry, Ontario.

DE LA FOSSE, F. M. *Early days in Muskoka* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, XXXIV, Toronto, 1942, 104-10). Recounts the joys of pioneering at Ilfracombe on the borders of Muskoka and Parry Sound, Ontario, in 1878.

The history and status of forestry in Ontario (Canadian geographical journal, XXV (3), Sept., 1942, 111-45).

McFERRAN, CLARA. *Catholic pioneers of Tyendinaga and neighboring townships* [Hastings county, Ontario] (Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Report, 1940-1, 77-94).

MELADY, THOMAS S. *A distinguished son of Huron County* [Ontario], the Rev. Stephen Eckert, O.M. Cap. (Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Report, 1940-1, 95-100).

Ontario Historical Society. *Papers and records*, vol. XXXIV. Toronto: The Society. 1942. Pp. 127. Contributions to this volume are listed separately in this bibliography.

[St. GERMAIN, VENANT]. *A merman in Lake Superior* (Beaver, outfit 273, Sept., 1942, 29-30). An article reprinted from the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* of May, 1824, describes a curious creature that an eighteenth-century voyageur saw rising from the waters of Lake Superior.

WALLACE, W. S. *The early history of Muskoka* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX (3), autumn, 1942, 247-50). A note on fur-trading days on the Muskoka lakes.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

BERNIER, NOËL. *Les Canadiens-français du Manitoba* (Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, Québec, 1942, 3-6). The author of *Fannystelle* (Québec, 1939) discusses the present situation among this group.

BILL, FRED A. *Early steamboating on the Red River* (North Dakota historical quarterly, IX(2), Jan., 1942, 69-85). Describes the first trip of the *Anson Northrup* in 1850 from St. Paul to Fort Garry, and the increasing trade and navigation from that date on.

DUNLEVY, Sister URSULA. *The Canadian halfbreed rebellions of 1870 and 1885: The origin of the Métis, or halfbreeds, of western Canada* (North Dakota quarterly, IX (2, 3), Jan., April, 1942, 86-113, 137-66). A Master's thesis written at the University of North Dakota under the direction of the Department of American history, 1922.

PRITCHETT, JOHN PERRY. *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849: A regional study*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.) New Haven; Yale University Press; Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xxii, 295. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

British Columbia's financial brief on the Sirois report. Victoria: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 23.

CARR, EMILY. *The book of small*. Toronto, London: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 245. (\$2.50) The author reminisces about her childhood in Victoria, British Columbia.

CASH, GWEN. *A million miles from Ottawa*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd. 1942. Pp. xii, 152. (\$1.50) The diary of a British Columbia journalist, during the winter and early spring of 1942, which emphasizes the change which has come over the once peaceful Pacific Coast since the beginning of the war with Japan.

- [Edward Eberstadt and Sons]. *The Northwest Coast: A century of personal narratives of discovery, conquest, and exploration from Bering's landfall to Wilkes' surveys, 1741-1841.* (Catalogue no. 119.) New York: Edward Eberstadt and Sons. 1941. Pp. 127. A bibliography of books, maps and manuscripts offered for sale by this publishing company, which relate to the history of the North-west coast.
- ELLIOTT, T. C. (ed.), *Letter of Donald Mackenzie to Wilson Price Hunt* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLIII (3), Sept., 1942, 194-7). A letter dated July 30, 1822, now in the archives of the Oregon Historical Society.
- FERRIS, W. A. *Life in the Rocky Mountains, a diary of wanderings on the sources of the rivers Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado from February, 1830, to November, 1835.* Edited with a life of Ferris and a history of explorations and fur trade by PAUL C. PHILLIPS. Denver, Colorado: Fred A. Rosenstock, The Old West Publishing Company. 1940. Pp. xcv, 365. (\$5.00)
- FREEMAN, OTIS W. and MARTIN, HOWARD H. (eds.). *The Pacific Northwest: A regional, human, and economic survey of resources and development.* New York: John Wiley and Sons; London: Chapman and Hall. 1942. Pp. xvi, 542.
- GIOLMA, FRANK. *Siluetta de Victoria* (Revista geografica, Buenos Aires, XV (no. 91), April, 1941, 261-4).
- HOWAY, F. W. *The introduction of intoxicating liquors amongst the Indians of the North-west Coast* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (3), July, 1942, 157-69). A paper read before section II of the Royal Society of Canada.
- IRELAND, GORDON. *The north Pacific fisheries* (American journal of international law, July, 1942).
- LAMB, W. KAYE. *Four letters relating to the cruise of the "Thetis," 1852-53* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (3), July, 1942, 189-206). The visit of the *Thetis* to the North-west Coast in 1852 was occasioned by the discovery of gold in the Queen Charlotte Islands.
- POLLARD, LANCASTER (ed.). *Journal of a voyage on Puget Sound in 1853 by William Petit Trowbridge* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXIII (4), Oct., 1942, 391-407). William Petit Trowbridge was a second lieutenant in the Engineers Corps, United States Army, who spent the three years 1853-6 on the Pacific Coast making tidal, geological, and astronomical observations.
- *The salmon fishery of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska* (Americana, XXXVI (4), Oct., 1942, 638-68). The history of the fishery is the record not only of one industry's growth, but also, in part, of the social evolution of the North-west Coast.
- RICH, E. E. (ed.) *The letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. First series, 1825-38.* With an introduction by W. KAYE LAMB. (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company series, IV.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1941. Pp. cxxviii, 374, xiv. To be reviewed later.
- RICKARD, T. A. *The Fraser River gold rush* (Beaver, outfit 273, Sept., 1942, 32-5).
- *The Klondike rush* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (3), July, 1942, 171-87). A paper read before the Victoria section of the British Columbia Historical Association.
- SIMPICH, FREDERICK. *Wartime in the Pacific Northwest* (National geographic magazine, LXXXII (4), Oct., 1942, 421-64). A survey of the operation of coast defence on the Pacific Coast by American and Canadian forces.
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(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

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(7) Newfoundland

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(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

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(4) Geography

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VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

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VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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The author has used such documentary material as was available as well as early files of Disciple journals. One of his important contributions is the information which he provides on these pioneer religious papers. In "Old Everton" he has included extracts from the church's own records, lists of members, and a lengthy

letter written in Eramosa in 1836, which gives an excellent description of pioneer life. The two pamphlets are a distinct contribution to the history of religion in Canada. [J. J. TALMAN]

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MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *Le voltairianisme de la Gazette littéraire de Montréal* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, jan.-mars, 1940, 7-28).

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IX. GENEALOGY

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ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *La Famille Le Compte Dupré*. Lévis, P.Q.: Chez l'auteur. 1941. Pp. 211.

TYRRELL, J. B. *Reuben Burr, Loyalist* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, XXXIV, Toronto, 1942, 5-33). Describes the coming to Canada of Reuben Burr and his family from Pennsylvania in 1805, and their settling near Aurora, later moving to Richmond Hill, then Newmarket, then King, and back to Richmond Hill.

WARNER, HOWARD W. *A bit of Canadian folklore* (Americana, XXXVI (4), Oct., 1942, 589-93). Genealogy of the Warner family and history of the family orchestra in South Augusta, Ontario.

WILSON, Mrs. M. E. *The Steele family* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, XXXIV, Toronto, 1942, 117-20). Describes particularly Captain Elmes Steele and his life as a pioneer in Simcoe County, Ontario.

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1942, 642-58). The November bibliography contains sections on Economic History, Fur Trade, Fishing, Agriculture, Mining, Forestry, Manufacturing Industry, Hydro-Electric Power, Transportation and Communications, Immigration, Population Problems, International Relations, General Works.

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XI. ART AND LITERATURE

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Annuaire de la publicité et de l'imprimerie, 1940: Revue annuelle de l'activité canadienne française dans les domaines de la presse, de la radio, de la publicité, de l'imprimerie et des arts graphiques. Ottawa: Edns. du Droit. 1940. Pp. 207. (\$1.00)

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Côté, sculpteur sur bois* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVI, sec. 1, mai, 1942, 3-11). Jean-Baptiste Côté (1834-1907), was one of Canada's best wood sculptors, and the first caricaturist.

——— *Déclin de la culture canadienne* (Action nationale, XVII, 1941, 125-34).

——— *Henri Julien*. (Canadian Art series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. Nov., 1941. Pp. 44. (\$1.00 cloth; 60c. paper) A brief account of the life and work of this French-Canadian artist, with a number of well-chosen examples of his political cartoons and his sketches of habitant life.

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——— *Images de l'Ottawa par Henri Masson* (Culture, mars, 1941, 63-6).

——— *Légendes d'autrefois* (Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, Québec, 1942, 17-20). Discusses old legends, and the form by which they are known in French Canada.

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- GIBBON, J. MURRAY. *A secular Bible for a new Canada* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXVI, sec. 2, May, 1942, 93-100). "My belief is that what Canada needs most of all for the assimilation and mutual understanding of her various racial groups, is a New Bible . . . of selections from the literatures of the Continental races which are finding their place in what I have elsewhere called the Canadian Mosaic."
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- SALVERSON, LAURA GOODMAN (ed.). *The Icelandic Canadian*. Vol. I, no. 1. Winnipeg: The Editor, 407 Devon Court. Oct. 1, 1942. The first issue of this publication sponsored by the Icelandic Canadian Club, dedicates itself to the belief that though all that is great and good in the inheritance from Iceland must not be forgotten, yet "our first duty is to Canada and the world of tomorrow . . . our divergent cultures must be freely spent in building a co-ordinated and a greater civilization sincerely and sanely devoted to the common good of this country."
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NOTES AND COMMENTS

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON
(1873-1942)

The sudden death of Arthur Percival Newton on August 12th last has come as a shock to all those who knew him and who admired the enthusiasm and undiminished energy with which, after his retirement from the Rhodes Chair of Imperial History in the University of London, he continued in the arduous pursuits of scholarship. Until his active life was cut off, he was engaged in editing the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, and in giving still further encouragement to those studies in the history of the Commonwealth and Empire, to which he had already made so substantial a contribution. Nor were his great abilities as a teacher denied to the community, since he also found time, as a Professor Emeritus, to undertake lecturing to the Army on current affairs, work which conditions of travel in contemporary England make particularly strenuous.

Newton achieved a remarkable success as a teacher. He had the gift of inspiring his students with his own perception of the importance of the subject. His strict regard for objectivity afforded a striking illustration of the scientific method applied to social studies, for he spent the first eighteen years of his academic life as a physicist. The disability caused by serious impairment of the sight of an eye was remarked by those who studied with him as indicative of the courage with which he accepted the visual strain and toll of erudition. His vast knowledge and lucent memory displayed a brilliant mind at work. His industry was an example no less compelling. Above all, he had a respect for the English language which conveyed its own incentive. He took special pride in having round the table of his Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research a large group of students drawn from all over the English-speaking world. The value of his work lies not only in the considerable corpus of his publications but in the wide influence of his teaching. To newcomers his manner was apt to be somewhat formidable. The initial attitude of many a student toward him was likely to be one of awe, but as the relationship flowered, it was wont to resolve into affectionate regard.

From the time when he published his book on *The Colonising Activities of the Early Puritans*, in 1913, and was appointed Rhodes Lecturer in American and Colonial History at King's College, London, in the following year, Newton was continuously engaged as an organizer, author, and editor of imperial studies. Among his many appointments, none gave him greater scope than his joint editorship of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, but he was equally at home with the minutiae of scholarship, of which his essay on "The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors" is a fine example. Many milestones and signposts of his scholar's progress mark the way for future travellers. Among them there will be recalled his *Federal and Unified Constitutions*, *The Unification of South Africa*, *The Universities and Educational Systems of the British Empire*, *Thomas Gage, the English American*, *The Great Age of Discovery*, *The European Nations in the West Indies*, and *One Hundred Years of the British Empire*.

Among the numerous honours which fell to him were the Vice-Presidencies of the Historical Association, the Royal Historical Association and the Com-

mission Internationale d'Histoire Coloniale. His life's total was a sum of excellence both in personality and in scholarship. His loss will be hard to repair. (W. E. C. HARRISON)

"Lieutenant-Colonel Beckles Willson, author of a number of books on Canadian history and politics, who has died in Unoccupied France, was born in Montreal in 1869. Among his books are 'The Hudson's Bay Company,' 'The Romance of Canada,' 'Nova Scotia,' and the 'Life of Lord Strathcona.' In 1929 he published his autobiography, 'From Quebec to Piccadilly.' He served in France and Palestine in the last War. He refused to leave his home on the French Riviera after the events of June, 1940, and constituted himself an outspoken champion of the Franco-British alliance." This note from the *Times Literary Supplement* was drawn to our attention by Mr. Louis Blake Duff.

The death of Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg at Madison, Wisconsin, on July 11 last will be noted with regret by Canadian historians. Dr. Kellogg joined the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as editorial assistant to the then director, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, and from that time her books, articles, and numerous editorial works contributed greatly to historical writing on the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region. Among the important items most directly related to Canadian history were her two authoritative volumes, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (1925), her most outstanding book, and *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (1935). A biographical note is printed in the *American Historical Review* of October, page 220.

RECENT APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND RESIGNATIONS

Mr. Willard Ireland, the archivist of British Columbia, is now serving in the Air Force.

Mr. R. O. MacFarlane, associate professor in the University of Manitoba, has been granted leave of absence and is acting as Intelligence Officer in Military District No. 10. His work is being carried on by Assistant Professor W. L. Morton, B.A. (Manitoba), B.Litt. (Oxon.).

At the University of Montreal, M. Guy Frégault, a doctor of Loyola University, Chicago, has been appointed professor of Canadian history; and M. Raymond Tanghe has been appointed librarian.

Professor Gerald S. Graham of Queen's University was several months ago made Instructor Lieutenant-Commander, R.C.N.V.R., and has been granted leave in order to accept an appointment at the new Royal Canadian Naval College in Esquimalt, B.C., where he is lecturing on naval history. Dr. Donald C. Masters of United College, Winnipeg, was a visiting lecturer in history at the Queen's University Summer School, 1942.

Mr. F. W. Gibson has been appointed as a part-time instructor in history at Queen's University for 1942-3.

Professor G. de T. Glazebrook and Mr. R. G. Riddell have been granted leave from the University of Toronto for the duration of the war in order to take government appointments. Mr. Glazebrook has been in Ottawa since last January, and Mr. Riddell since early in September.

Professor F. H. Underhill, who was granted a Guggenheim Fellowship, is on

leave of absence from the University of Toronto for the current academic year and is carrying on his research in New York.

Miss Elsie M. Murray, B.A. (Toronto), M.A. (Columbia), and a member of the staff of the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Libraries, was appointed in August last to the staff of the Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, where she is in charge of the rapidly growing manuscript collection on Canadian history.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(The Canadian Historical Review will be pleased to supply on request information with regard to publishers and prices of books mentioned in its pages. These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

French Canada and Britain by the Abbé Arthur Maheux (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942, vi, 121 pp., \$1.50 cloth, \$1.00 paper). Both the French edition and Professor Saunders's English translation of this book have already been noted in the REVIEW. It is fitting that the English edition should be specially mentioned in these notes, however, since this is a book which may be read with much profit by teachers of history. It is interesting not only for the materials included in it, but also for the purpose and manner of its writing. Its information will go far to correct misapprehensions with regard to British policy toward the French after the conquest. While English-Canadian historians have by no means done as much as they can to explain the history and point of view of French Canada, they have nevertheless written extensively on the subject for fifty years. French-Canadian historians, on the other hand, have done little to present the history of English Canada or related themes to French-Canadian readers. It is to be hoped that, following on this book, we shall have further studies of English-speaking Canada by French-Canadian historians. In presenting these lectures the Abbé Maheux has done a service to both French and English Canadians. The book is also notable because it is available in both French and English. It is a regrettable and important fact that very little of the significant historical writing done on Canada in the past twenty years is available in both languages.

The broadening scope of Canadian history in the schools and the increase of materials for the teaching of the subject are suggested by several books which have recently come to hand. Canadian history may still be the duller subject on the school curriculum, as has often been asserted, but the justification for such a condition is rapidly decreasing. *Our Story of Travel and Transport* by Joseph M. Scott (Toronto, Halifax, Ryerson Press, 1942, viii, 275 pp., \$1.50) is a good example of the kind of book for supplementary reading which should find its way into school libraries. Its illustrations and its simple and vivid descriptions linking past and present commend it highly. Our one adverse criticism—and it applies to many other books—is that it carries the topical arrangement to the point where, in our opinion, the sense of chronological progression is practically destroyed. It skips back and forth over four centuries of Canadian history, and leaves no clear impression of transportation in relation to successive broad periods in the development of the country. The difficulty of combining a topical and chronological treatment is very great—no problem in historical writing is more puzzling—but history is the record of continuous and comprehensive forces and every means should be sought of creating this

impression, especially with elementary students who have difficulty enough in developing a time sense.

From Cartier to Champlain by M. Jeanneret and E. M. Jeanneret (Toronto, Copp Clark, 1941, 64 pp., 15c.) is also well designed for supplementary reading. It is, however, better on the well-worn topics of exploration and political arrangements, such as grants and charters, than on the beginnings of settlement, conditions which made for success and failure, etc. Something is also sacrificed to the topical arrangement. *My Country's Story*, by D. J. Dickie, Helen Palk, and E. C. Woodley (Toronto, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1941, xii, 498 pp., 95c.), revised and adapted for use in Catholic schools in Quebec, contains a great deal of attractive textual and illustrative material. One cannot, however, but be struck by the fact that in a book of almost five hundred pages the period from 1864 to the present is given only ninety-four. *The Story of the Americas* by A. D. Thomson (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942, vi, 171 pp., 75c.), is designed to give Canadian students an idea of the broad outlines of the geography and history of the American continents south of Canada, and includes material which certainly should be incorporated at some stage in every Canadian high-school history course. This book, prepared for use in the schools of Saskatchewan, is on an elementary level. Based entirely on the project method it would be a stimulating guide in the hands of a capable teacher with adequate library facilities. Of a different order is the small book on the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, *Riders in Scarlet: The Way of Life of the Mounties* by Sydney R. Montague (Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson and Co., 1941, 64 pp.). It is racy and interesting, and while somewhat slangy in spots it would give junior high-school students a vivid idea of the life and responsibilities of a police officer, especially in the far north. The problem of maintaining law and order and of harmonizing the Eskimo point of view with the law of the white man is suggested in a way that would be understandable to elementary pupils.

Pamphlets on current events. Among the numerous pamphlets published since our last issue, the following may be noted as of special interest to readers of these notes. *The New Western Front* by Griffith Taylor is number 14 of the "Contemporary Affairs" series published by the Ryerson Press under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (30c.). No. 15 in the same series is *Canada and the United Nations: Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, May 23-4, 1942* (50c.). Professor Edgar McInnis, in his excellent quarterly pamphlets, the *Oxford Periodical History of the War*, nos. 10-13, has reviewed the war from October, 1941, to September 30, 1942. These four numbers have been incorporated into the volume, *The War: Third Year*, recently published in book form by the Oxford Press (\$2.00), as have the earlier numbers in the series. The Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in their "Behind the Headlines" series, have sponsored the following: No. 6, *Consider the Record: Canada and the League of Nations* by Gwendolen M. Carter; no. 7, *Price peg policies: Canada—Great Britain—United States* by Ruth V. Paine; no. 8, *An Anglo-American Economic Policy* (reprinted from "Planning," by PEP, England, with a foreword for Canadians); nos. 9 and 10, *Will Food Win the War?* and *Canada in a Hungry World* by Andrew Stewart. The Abbé Arthur Maheux has written another pamphlet to promote better understanding between English and French

Canadians in his *What French Canadians Want: Survival, not Domination* in the "Food for Thought" series (Toronto, Canadian Association for Adult Education, vol. II (10), June, 1942). Recent issues in the "America in a World at War" series include: *The Enigma of the British* by Harold Callender; *Australia and the Australians* by H. J. Timperley; *France and the War* by Leon Dostert; *Norway: Norwegian Shipping and the War* by Oivind Lorentzen (New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1942, 32 pp. each, 10c. each). The World Peace Foundation has published several new numbers in its "America Looks Ahead" series, no. 4 of which is entitled *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World* by Arthur N. Holcombe (Boston, 1942, 50c. cloth, 25c. paper), and has issued another pamphlet, *Peace Aims and Post-War Planning: A Bibliography Selected and Annotated* by Fawn M. Brodie (53 pp., 25c.). *Canadian Women in the War Effort* by Charlotte Whitton is a recent publication among the "Macmillan War Pamphlets" (vi, 57 pp., 50c.). Another pamphlet directed towards analysis of the Canadian war effort is *Canadian Wartime Control of Industry* by Jules Backman and Henry Brodie (New York University School of Law, series 4, no. 10, 1942, 62 pp.). No. 6 in the "Planning pamphlets" issued in Washington by the National Planning Association is *United States' Co-operation with British Nations* (August, 1941, 51 pp., 25c.). New titles in the Historical Association pamphlets include: *A Select Bibliography of the History of the United States* compiled by Allan Nevins and *Federation: Its Nature and Conditions* by A. Berriedale Keith (London, Wyman and Sons, 1942, 48 pp. and 24 pp. respectively).

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The question as to what is the importance of the work of local historical societies at the present time has brought forth a number of comments in Canada and the United States. A perusal of them indicates that societies engaged in activities which have a real meaning for the communities which they serve are in no doubt that they are making a contribution to the general welfare and are meeting with an appreciation which justifies their continuance. Societies have now a double opportunity since they may interest themselves not only in the past but in the present. We are passing through a period of great historical significance, and the work done by local societies to preserve the records of their communities will not merely arouse a present interest but will be appreciated in the future. In this connection we recommend the two most recently published Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History: "Using Volunteers in the Local Historical Society's Program" published in August; and "The Local History Museum and the War Program" published in October. The August issue of the *Ontario Library Review* contains a very practical article by Miss Elsie M. Murray, "Salvage Canada's Past," copies of which can also be obtained from the University of Western Ontario Library. The article deals with the care and handling of historical manuscript material, and was written particularly for libraries, historical societies, and other depositories in the province of Ontario. Examples of work already done in the province and a bibliography are included. This publication should be of great assistance to all those interested in the sources of Canadian history.

"Sociétés historiques de langue française" is the title of an excellent descriptive article by Archange Godbout, O.F.M., in the journal *Culture*, III, 1942, 67-89. Notes are given with regard to the history and activities of nineteen societies, three of which are in the United States. To these notes the

author adds a number of observations with regard to the work which societies might do and with regard to the difficulties, especially the financial, under which societies are labouring.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association held its annual meeting at St. Hyacinthe, P.Q., on October 6 and 7. The addresses and papers included: "La Mysticité des fondateurs de Ville Marie," the presidential address by M. Victor Morin; "Monseigneur Bourget: L'homme et l'évêque" by the Rev. E. J. Auclair; "The Right Rev. William Dollard, D.D., First Catholic Bishop of New Brunswick" by the Rev. W. J. Osborne; "The Oblates of Mary Immaculate—One Hundred Years of Missions in Canada" by the Rev. F. E. Banim; "La Fondation de nouveaux diocèses et l'essor apostolique du Canada français" by the Right Rev. Olivier Maurault; "La part de M. Desaulniers à l'introduction du thomisme au Canada français, vers l'époque de la renaissance religieuse, 1840-1855" by the Rev. Lucien Beauregard; "La Situation religieuse au Canada français vers 1840" by the Rev. Lionel Groulx; "The Route of Father De Smet's Journey into British American Territory in 1845" by the Rev. R. J. McGuinness; "Le Rôle du clergé pendant l'insurrection de 1837" by the Rev. Raoul Martin; "Monseigneur Forbin Janson et le mouvement religieux du Québec vers 1840" by the Rev. F. X. Coté; "Le Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe et la renaissance religieuse de 1840 à 1855" by the Rev. Léo Sansoucy. Officers: president general, Dr. Victor Morin; *English section*: president, the Rev. H. J. Somers; vice-president, the Rev. Brother Alfred; secretary, Dr. James F. Kenney; treasurer, Mr. Walter C. Cain; *French section*: president, the Rev. Thomas M. Charland; vice-president, Dr. Gustave Lancot; secretary, Dr. Séraphin Marion; treasurer, the Rev. Edgar Thivièrge.

The Canadian Railroad Historical Association was founded in 1932 and incorporated by federal charter in 1941. Its activities include the marking of sites, and the collection of materials pertaining to railroad history. The publication of the Society's Bulletins has had to be suspended on account of the war. President, Mr. C. L. Lerroux; secretary, Mr. John Loye.

The Champlain Society has just issued "McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, First Series, 1825-38" edited by E. E. Rich with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. This is the fourth volume of the joint series with the Hudson's Bay Company. The last annual report of the Society, the thirty-fifth, also mentions the volume of narratives of Loyalist settlers of Upper Canada which is being prepared by Dr. J. J. Talman of the University of Western Ontario.

The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal at its August meeting honoured the war guests in Annapolis Royal and vicinity. Mr. Walter Wood, of the Children's Aid Society of Annapolis County, read a paper on "The Migration of British Children to Canada," and five war guests read accounts of their personal experiences. At the annual meeting on November 18, the L. M. Fortier school history prizes were presented, one of them being for an essay on the subject, "Annapolis Royal, the capital of Nova Scotia, 1713-49." A vivid personal account of the evacuation of the Island of Jersey was also given by Mrs. E. Tilley, now resident in Annapolis Royal. Officers: president, Mr. T. H. H. Fortier; vice-president, Mr. Boyd Barteaux; secretary, Dr. D. B. Hemmeon; treasurer, Mr. T. W. H. MacPherson; life-director, Lieut.-Col. E. K. Eaton.

The Ontario Historical Society has published volume XXXIV of its "Papers and Records." The nine articles contained in the report are of high quality and have been noted separately in our List of Recent Publications. The article

by Miss Loosley on Canadian costume printed in this issue of the REVIEW was also read at the Society's last annual meeting.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society held its annual meeting in Regina on November 19 last and was encouraged by a large attendance and by an evidence of keen interest in the Society's programme of research. The annual report of the Society which has just come to hand is devoted to a description of the problems on which work is being done or which it is hoped to investigate in the near future. This record of the Society's present and proposed activities makes the report one of the most interesting and impressive that has come to our attention in recent months and we commend it to the attention of societies which have some question with regard to their opportunities or their obligations at the present time. The problems which are being investigated are too numerous to be mentioned here but they include the collection and organization of materials which range from the early history of the province to the present time. In this connection we were especially interested in the collection of records with regard to Saskatchewan soldiers in the present war. Another point of special interest is the attention being given to the history of Indian tribes in Saskatchewan and in particular the work on the Sioux Indians which has been carried on with special assistance from Father Laviolette of the Indian Industrial School at Lebret. President, Mr. J. A. Gregory, M.P.; vice-presidents, Mr. Hugh McGillivray, Mrs. J. R. Green; treasurer, Mr. A. T. Hunter, secretary, Mr. Z. M. Hamilton, 403-4 McCallum-Hill Building, Regina.

The Upper Canada Railway Society is issuing a series of monthly mimeographed Bulletins, the last of which contained among other items a short article on the Montreal and Southern Counties Railway. The Society has an index of Canadian motive power, which is at present in the care of the acting secretary, Mr. J. D. Knowles.

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

The University of Western Ontario. The last annual report of the library and the second issue of the library's Bulletin contain information with regard to numerous acquisitions of historical materials. Among the items, which are too numerous to mention in full are: the arm-chair and the only existing portrait of Colonel Thomas Talbot from Judge Talbot Macbeth, who had previously presented the Talbot Papers to the library; four important Ontario diaries from Dr. E. Seaborn; a large number of early Ontario newspapers, including a number from Hamilton and a run of the *St. Thomas Despatch*; forty-six volumes of agricultural and horticultural journals, to add to the library's already extensive collection along these lines; one of the two existing manuscript copies of Dr. A. E. Lavell's history of penal and reformatory institutions in Ontario. Reference is also made to the work the library is doing in collecting materials relating to the present war.

The William L. Clements Library in its annual report announces the following items among its acquisitions: correspondence of Henry Goulburn, one of the English commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Ghent in 1814; several letters to Lord Sheffield; a photostat of Las Casas's copy of Columbus's journal from the Spanish National Library at Madrid. Mention is also made of the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections* of the library, edited by Howard H. Peckham, which was reviewed in the September issue, p. 314.

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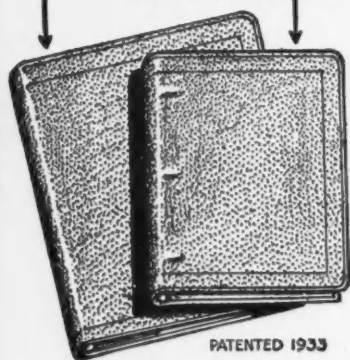
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